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U.S. Department of Justice
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Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers

A National Assessment of Serious Juvenile Crime and The Juvenile Justice System:

The Need for a Rational Response

Volume II
Definition, Characteristics of Incidents and Individuals, and Relationship to Substance Abuse

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Volume II

Definition, Characteristics of Incidents and Individuals, and Relationship to Substance Abuse

by
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April 1980

best copy available

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FOREWORD

The National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention established an Assessment Center Program in 1976 to partially fulfill the mandate of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, as amended, to collect and synthesize knowledge and information from available literature on all aspects of juvenile delinquency.

This report series provides insight into the critical area of how serious juvenile crime impacts on U.S. society and how the juvenile justice system responds to it.

The assessment efforts are not designed to be complete statements in a particular area. Rather, they are intended to reflect the state-of-knowledge at a particular time, including gaps in available information or understanding. Each successive assessment report then may provide more general insight on a cumulative basis when compared to other reports.

Due to differences in definitions and the lack of a readily available body of information, the assessment efforts have been difficult. In spite of such complexity, the persons who participated in the preparation of this report are to be commended for their contribution to the body of knowledge.

James C. Howell, Director
National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

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PREFACE

As part of the Assessment Center Program of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, topical centers were established to assess delinquency prevention (University of Washington), the juvenile justice system (American Justice Institute) and alternatives to the juvenile justice system (University of Chicago). In addition, a fourth assessment center was established at the National Council on Crime and Delinquency to integrate the work of the three topical centers.

This report is "A National Assessment of Serious Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice System: The Need for a Rational Response--Volume II: Definition; Characteristics of Incidents and Individuals; and Relationship to Substance Abuse." Part A--Definition includes the findings and conclusions resulting from a literature search and compilation of expert opinion on the definition of serious juvenile crime and offenders. Part B--Characteristics of Incidents and Individuals reports the findings and conclusions regarding the characteristics of serious juvenile crime and those responsible. Part C--Relationship to Substance Abuse includes the findings and conclusions on the relationship of substance abuse to serious juvenile crime. This volume is one of a series in this topical area. Other volumes are "Volume I: Summary," "Volume III: Legislation; Jurisdiction; Program Interventions; and Confidentiality of Juvenile Records," and "Volume IV: Economic Impact."

Other work of the American Justice Institute as part of the National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center includes reports on the status offender, child abuse and neglect, and classification and disposition of juveniles.

In spite of the limitations of these reports, each should be viewed as an appropriate beginning in the establishment of a better framework and baseline of information for understanding and action by policymakers, operational personnel, researchers and the public on how the juvenile justice system can contribute to desired child development and control.

Charles P. Smith, Director
National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this paper is to develop a set of definitions for use in assessing serious juvenile crime. What should be considered a serious juvenile offense? Who should be considered a serious juvenile offender? The almost total lack of agreement on what is meant by these terms underscores the need for some kind of working definition.

This paper was developed primarily through a review of the literature and available statistics. This was supplemented by structured and informal interviews with knowledgable juvenile justice personnel.

For the purposes of this paper, a juvenile offender is a person not yet 18 who is adjudicated for a delinquent act by the juvenile justice system or for a crime by the criminal justice system. The age of 18 is extended to 21 in cases where the offense took place prior to the eighteenth birthday but the final disposition by the court or correction system is not made until a subsequent age.

FINDINGS

Three criteria are found to be important in the definition of seriousness:

- violence or injury to persons
- property loss or damage
- chronicity or repetition of offenses.

In the literature review, violence and property loss were considered as possible criteria for the definition of serious juvenile offense. Chronicity was considered as an additional possible criterion in the definition of serious juvenile offender.

CONCLUSIONS

The major conclusions are that:

- The Uniform Crime Report (UCR) list of index crimes is partially consistent with the use of violence and property loss as criteria in defining serious juvenile offenses.

- The seriousness scales suggest the use of violence and property loss as criteria in defining serious juvenile offenses.
- The Sellin-Wolfgang seriousness scale, when applied to the UCR index crimes, shows significantly higher scores for violent offenses than for property offenses. This suggests a basis for separating the serious from the less serious offenses.
- Chronicity is a reasonable criterion to add to violence and property loss for defining the serious juvenile offender.
- The elements of violence, property loss and chronicity in the offense history of a juvenile may be scored on a seriousness scale in order to provide a measure for who is a serious juvenile offender.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that:

- A serious juvenile offense includes the following offenses (or ones of at least equal severity), as measured by the Sellin-Wolfgang seriousness scale:
    - homicide or voluntary manslaughter
    - forcible sexual intercourse
    - aggravated assault
    - armed robbery
    - burglary of an occupied residence
    - larceny/theft of more than $1,000
    - auto theft without recovery of the vehicle
    - arson of an occupied building
    - kidnapping
    - extortion
    - illegal sale of dangerous drugs
- A serious juvenile offender is one whose offense history includes adjudication for five or more serious offenses (on the Sellin-Wolfgang scale), or one who is adjudicated for one or more offenses whose severity is equal to homicide or forcible sexual intercourse as measured by the Sellen-Wolfgang scale.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF PAPER

The purpose of this paper is to develop a set of definitions for use in assessing serious juvenile crime. Although there is widespread and increasing interest in serious juvenile crime in America today, there is little agreement on how to define it. What should be considered a serious juvenile offense? Who should be considered a serious juvenile offender?

City dwellers may have a different perspective from those who live in rural areas. Juvenile justice system personnel who struggle to solve daily problems may differ with the researcher and statistician who strives for a more detached objectivity. Legislators and public officials in different jurisdictions may take different views as to what constitutes serious juvenile crime. All of these groups may also disagree among themselves. The news media report all of this and influence public perception of serious juvenile crime.

The almost total lack of agreement on what is meant by such widely used terms as "serious juvenile offense" and "serious juvenile offender" underscores the need for a working definition.

METHOD

The method for this paper involved primarily a synthesis and analysis of available literature and statistics. In addition, interviews were conducted with a sample of police, court, and corrections personnel in six States. Finally, discussions were held with many of the participants during the 1977 National Symposium on the Serious Juvenile Offender.

BASIC DEFINITIONS

Prior to developing definitions of seriousness, certain basic definitions of juvenile and criminal justice system terms have been adopted for the purpose of this report. These definitions are based primarily on the United States Code (11) to facilitate general application at the Federal and State level, although it is recognized that State codes vary. The basic definitions, as used in this paper, are given below:

- Juvenile:

  A person who is not yet 18; or, for the purposes of proceedings and disposition of such a person for an act of juvenile delinquency or a crime committed prior to his/her eighteenth birthday, a person who is not yet 21.

- Juvenile Delinquency:

  A violation of a law of the United States or its several States committed by a person who is not yet 18, which would have been a crime if committed by an adult and which is liable to disposition through the juvenile justice system.

- Crime:

  An act that is forbidden by a law of the United States or its several States and which makes the offender liable to disposition by that law through the adult justice system.

- Juvenile Justice System:

  The organization of interacting and interdependent statutory police, court, and correctional agencies who have jurisdiction over juveniles for an act of juvenile delinquency.

- Adult Justice System:

  The organization of interacting and interdependent statutory police, court, and correctional agencies who have jurisdiction over adults for the commission of a crime or who have jurisdiction over juveniles for the commission of an act or series of acts considered inappropriate for handling by the juvenile justice system.

- Offender:

  A person who is adjudicated by the adult or juvenile justice system to have committed an act of juvenile delinquency or a crime.

Thus, for the purposes of this paper, a *juvenile offender* is any one of the following:

- A person not yet *18* who is adjudicated for an act of *juvenile delinquency* by the *juvenile justice system*.
- A person not yet *18* who is *adjudicated* for a *crime* by the adult justice system.
- A person not yet *21* who has been *adjudicated* as an offender by the *juvenile* or *adult* justice system for acts committed prior to their *eighteenth* birthday which would be considered either *juvenile delinquency* or a *crime*.

For the sake of clarity in the use of this definition in this report, it is important to make this further observation:

- There is an important distinction to be made between a juvenile who has been *adjudicated* for committing a delinquent act and a juvenile who is *alleged* to have committed a delinquent act or a crime. The former can properly be called a juvenile *offender*. The latter cannot.

Nevertheless, the category of juveniles who have been alleged to have committed delinquent acts or crimes is extremely important when one is trying to ascertain the extent and nature of juvenile crime. This is because arrest figures are by far the most widely available and widely used statistics on juvenile crime. In fact, it is *only* arrest figures that are collected nationally on an offense specific basis and published in the annual Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Court statistics (2), which report the number of juveniles who have been *adjudicated* as delinquents nationally, suffer from two deficiencies. First, they are not collected on an offense specific basis and there is no way of distinguishing between serious and less serious offenses. Secondly, between the point of arrest and the point of adjudication, decisions may be made to handle cases non-judicially or to reduce charges. Together, these factors may mean that court figures reflect actual offenses less accurately than arrest figures.

National detention and correction statistics (14) for persons under 18 report only the general classification of institutional committments (e.g., delinquent, status offender) and the type of institution. No information is available on specific offenses.

For definitional purposes, it is important to maintain the distinction between juveniles alleged to have committed an offense and juveniles adjudicated for committing an offense. Legally, it is the adjudicated juvenile who is the offender. However, in describing the nature and extent of serious juvenile crime, this report must occasionally refer to those juveniles who are alleged to have committed serious juvenile offenses.

DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS

Before presenting the findings from the literature review and interviews, a discussion of some of the leading definitional problems regarding seriousness may be helpful.

Semantic Problems

The essence of the semantic problem is the wide variety of ways the term "serious" may be defined in the English language. For example, its meanings include:

- ". . . being in earnest . . ., and
- . . . having important or dangerous possible consequences . . ." (14, p. 1058).

Even if one of these definitions were chosen, i.e., "dangerous possible consequences," the term is still imprecise. For example, how dangerous? Dangerous to whom?

Further, the English language permits the use of many synonyms for a word like dangerous--with each synonym introducing possibly another meaning. For example, synonyms for "dangerous" include:

- hazardous
- uncertain
- threatening
- imminent (14, p. 245).

In addition to the basic problems with the English language, there are problems of perception. For example, something that is "serious" to one person may be relatively insignificant to another person. The language used will vary accordingly.

Statutory Problems

The variety of definitions of delinquent behavior according to the juvenile codes of the 50 States and the District of Columbia is so great as to be confusing (9). To quote a 1977 statutes analysis published by the National Center for Juvenile Justice:

> The juvenile codes of most States define two categories of juveniles whose conduct subjects them to the jurisdiction of the juvenile court; however, the nature of the conduct encompassed by the statutory classifications varies widely and only approximates the commonly accepted meanings of the terms "delinquency" and "status offense." Forty-one jurisdictions categorize juvenile lawbreakers as "delinquents." In the remaining ten states, the statutes use what are intended to be less stigmatizing names - "offender," "ward of the court," - or simply declare that children who commit certain acts are within the jurisdiction of the court (6, pp. 1-2).

Indeed, the authors state, ". . . the variety of statutory classification schemes renders any attempt at uniform definitions futile" (6, p. 17). If this is true for the relatively simple task of separating delinquent from nondelinquent behavior, it is all the more true for the attempt to delineate between what is serious and what is not serious.

Problems in Relating Seriousness to Juveniles

Considerable confusion and conflict are present when attempts are made to apply a degree of "seriousness" to acts that are committed by juveniles.

For example, should the term "serious" apply to the juvenile offender:

- who commits a single act that causes harm to a person (e.g., homicide, assault, rape)

- who commits a single act that causes harm or is threatening to a person (e.g., robbery, burglary, kidnapping, arson) even though the act may have been directed towards property (e.g., the destruction of a building, the acquisition of material things)
- who commits a series of acts that cause harm or threatens a person
- who commits a series of acts that cause harm or loss to property, or
- some modification or supplement to the above list?

In addition to the difficulties raised by the above questions, two other questions arise in relating seriousness to juvenile offenders:

- intent (i.e., did the juvenile deliberately commit the act?)
- capability (i.e., was the juvenile capable by age or mental state to independently commit the act and know that it was wrong?)

CHAPTER II

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings of a literature review on definitions of seriousness. The purpose, as previously stated, has been to develop sets of definitions for what is a serious juvenile offense and who is a serious juvenile offender.

In the review of the literature, three criteria are identified as being important in the definition of seriousness. They are:

- violence or injury to persons
- property loss or damage
- chronicity or repetition of offenses.

Violence or injury to persons, and property loss or damage, are considered as possible criteria in the definition of what is a serious offense. Violence and property loss, plus chronicity, are considered in the definition of who is a serious juvenile offender.

The sources which will be considered in this chapter are:

- The Uniform Crime Reports
- Sellin-Wolfgang's The Measurement of Delinquency (8) and other literature on seriousness scales
- General literature on the subject of chronicity.

UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS

The Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), published annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, uses an index of the following seven offenses to provide an overview of crime in the United States:

- murder and non-negligent manslaughter
- forcible rape
- robbery
- aggravated assault

- burglary
- larceny-theft
- motor vehicle theft (12, p. 1).

These seven offenses were selected for the UCR because of their:

- seriousness
- frequency of occurrence, and
- likelihood of being reported to police (12, p. 1).

While seriousness is but one of three criteria used to construct the Crime Index, it is clear that, for UCR purposes, all seven of the crimes listed are defined as serious. Of these seven UCR Index Crimes, four are considered by the UCR to be crimes of violence, since they are serious crimes against persons and result in actual or threatened injury to the victim. These four are:

- murder
- aggravated assault
- forcible rape
- robbery (12, p. 160).

The other three Index Crimes are considered by the URC to be serious crimes against property, since they result in direct property loss to the victim. These are:

- burglary
- larceny-theft
- motor vehicle theft.

In developing definitions of seriousness, it may be seen, then, that the criterion of violence or injury to persons is viewed as the most important element, followed by the criterion of property loss or damage. These criteria apply to the definition of what is a serious offense. (The UCR Crime Index does not address itself to the question of who is a serious juvenile offender.)

It is important to note that there are offenses which are omitted from the seven UCR Index Crimes which many persons might consider to be serious. These include:

- kidnapping
- arson

- aggravated sex offenses other than rape
- sale or use of dangerous drugs
- leaving the scene of an accident
- child abuse resulting in serious injury
- extortion.

Similarly, there are offenses which fall under the UCR Crime Index which many persons might not consider to be serious. These would include certain categories of larceny-theft and motor vehicle theft, such as:

- petty shoplifting
- thefts from motor vehicles
- thefts of motor vehicle parts and accessories
- bicycle thefts
- thefts from coin machines
- theft of a motor vehicle for a temporary "joy-ride" (12, pp. 28, 32, 159).

The reason for the exclusion of such seemingly serious offenses as arson and kidnapping from the UCR Crime Index is ostensibly because they do not occur frequently enough. When one considers the violence to persons and the great property loss in these and some of the other offenses omitted from the Crime Index, it is questionable whether such an omission is justified.

It is equally appropriate to raise the question of whether offenses of larceny-theft which involve minor property loss--offenses such as petty shoplifting and bicycle theft, for example--truly belong on an index of serious crime.

SERIOUSNESS SCALES

There have been several attempts to develop measures for the severity of offenses. These are relevant in the present attempt to develop definitions of seriousness. The best known work in this field has been done by Sellin and Wolfgang, beginning with their publication in 1964 of The Measurement of Delinquency (8). Other literature on this subject which will be reviewed here includes Hoffman, Beck, and De Gostin, 1973 (5); Gray, Conover, and Hennessey, 1978 (3); Mueller and Jaman, 1966, (7); and Blumstein, 1974, (1). As will become apparent, the scope of these various studies varies widely. The number of incidents considered in developing the seriousness scales ranges from a few dozen to 1,300. The number of persons evaluating the seriousness of the incidents varies from 16 to hundreds of persons. The nature of the incidents considered ranges from specific types of institutional violence to the full range of possible offenses. Each of the studies will be reviewed in the light of what each might contribute to the development of a definition for what is a serious juvenile offense, according to the criteria of violence and property loss. The question of who is a serious juvenile offender will be considered in a later section which will review literature on chronicity as a criterion for seriousness.

Sellin, Wolfgang

The most comprehensive research that has been carried out to date on the subject of measuring the seriousness of offenses remains the work done by Thorsten Sellin and Marvin E. Wolfgang. Their book, The Measurement of Delinquency (8), is based on an analysis of a 10 percent random sample of all of the cases handled by the Juvenile Aid Division of the Philadelphia Police Department in the year 1960. "The 10 percent sample drawn yielded 1,313 offenses involving 2,094 delinquents, some of who were involved in more than one offense during the year" (8, p. 139). Using this sample of offenses, a group of 575 evaluators, consisting of 251 university students, 286 police officers, and 38 juvenile court judges were asked to rate the law violations on a scale of 1 to 11, with one as least serious and 11 as most serious. As a result of this rating process, three categories of seriousness were developed. These are described as follows: "(a) events that produce bodily harm to a victim or to victims, even though some property theft, damage, or destruction may also be involved; (b) events that involve theft, even when accompanied by property damage or destruction; and (c) events that involve only property damage or destruction" (8, p. 295). Other important factors taken into account in developing offense severity weights were whether or not there had been intimidation of the victim (either with or without a weapon), whether there had been forcible entry of premises, and whether forcible sexual intercourse was involved.

Table 1 (p. 20) presents the Sellin-Wolfgang seriousness scale (8, p. 402). The scoring of this scale may be illustrated by quoting from an example given in the book. "A holdup man forces a husband and his wife to get out of their automobile. He shoots the husband, gun whips and rapes the wife (hospitalized) and leaves in the automobile (value $2,000) after taking money ($100) from the husband. The husband dies as a result of the shooting. . ." This event is scored as follows (the numbers given in parentheses are the weights assigned in the scale): "The husband was killed (26); the wife was raped (10), threatened with a gun (2), and sustained injuries requiring hospitalization (7). The car was stolen (2). The total value of the property loss, car and money, was $2,100 (4)." The total Sellin-Wolfgang score for this event is 51 (8, p. 407). This criminal event is clearly one of extreme severity because it contains so many different elements of bodily injury (including death) and property loss, but the principle for scoring simpler criminal events remains the same. It is also worth keeping in mind that the dollar amounts given in the scale are 1964 dollar amounts. Applications of this scale which have been made since then have had to take into account more contemporary dollar values.

Two criteria have been identified in this paper for use in defining what is a serious juvenile offense (violence or injury to persons, and property loss). It is clear that the Sellin-Wolfgang

TABLE I

Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scale (8, p. 402)

Elements Scored (1)*		Number (2)	x Weight (3)	Total (4)
I.	Number of victims of bodily harm			
	(a) Receiving minor injuries		1	
	(b) Treated and discharged		4	
	(c) Hospitalized		7	
	(d) Killed		26	
II.	Number of victims of forcible sex intercourse		10	
	(a) Number of such victims intimidated by weapon		2	
III.	Intimidation (except II above)			
	(a) Physical or verbal only		2	
	(b) By weapon		4	
IV.	Number of premises forcibly entered		1	
V.	Number of motor vehicles stolen		2	
VI.	Value of property stolen, damaged or destroyed (in dollars)			
	(a) Under 10 dollars		1	
	(b) 10-250		2	
	(c) 251-2000		3	
	(d) 2001-9000		4	
	(e) 9001-30000		5	
	(f) 30001-80000		6	
	(g) Over 80000		7	
		Total Score		

---

*Column 1 contains a list of the elements that can be scored, even though most events will include only one or two of these elements, and Column 2 refers to the number of instances or victims involved in a particular incident. Column 3 gives the weight assigned to the element. Column 4 is reserved for the total score for a given element; this is derived by multiplying the figure in Column 2 by the figure in Column 3. By adding all figures in Column 4, the total score for the event is found (8, p. 403).

scale supports the use of these criteria and that the Sellin-Wolfgang scale permits the making of relatively fine distinctions between degrees of seriousness.

Hoffman, Beck, and De Gostin

In 1973, a research effort was undertaken by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency to develop a method of parole decision-making which would be relevant to offense severity. There were 16 evaluators who participated in the developement of the severity scale. Eight of them were the members of the U. S. Board of Parole, and the others were the eight Hearing Examiners of the U. S. Board of Parole. The evaluations involved ranking 65 offense behaviors typically seen by the parole board into a number of offense classifications. The resulting six-point severity scale ranked these behaviors as "low-severity," "low-moderate severity," "moderate severity," "high severity," "very high severity," and "greatest severity" (5, pp. 2-3). Table 2 (p. 22) presents illustrations from the offense severity policy recommendations made as a result of the research (5, pp. 28-29). The categories of offense severity are also given numerical ratings. For example, theft of motor vehicle for own use received an average rating of 2.75; burglary of a dwelling, a rating of 4.0; armed robbery, a rating of 5.87; kidnapping for ransom, a rating of 6.87; and planned homicide, a rating of 7.0 (5, p. 17-24).

The severity ratings which come out of the Hoffman, Beck, and De Gostin study are consistent with the use of violence or injury to persons and property loss as criteria for determining seriousness.

Gray, Conover, and Hennessey

In a recent cost effectiveness study on community corrections, the researchers devised a seriousness scale to measure the effectiveness of varying treatment modes in deterring juveniles from

TABLE 2

A PROSPECTIVE POLICY REGARDING OFFENSE SEVERITY

Category A: Low Severity Offenses	Minor theft (includes larceny and simple possession of stolen property less than $1,000).
Category B: Low/Moderate Severity Offenses	Fraud (less than $1,000); Possession of marijuana (less than $500); Passing/Possession of counterfeit currency (less than $1,000).
Category C: Moderate Severity Offenses	Simple theft of motor vehicle (not multiple theft or for resale); Theft, Forgery/Fraud ($1,000-$20,000); Possession of marijuana ($500 or over); Possession of Other "Soft Drugs" (less than $5,000); Sale of marijuana (less than $5,000); Sale of Other "Soft Drugs" (less than $500); Possession of "Heavy Narcotics" (by addict--less than $500).
Category D: High Severity Offenses	Theft, Forgery/Fraud (over $20,000); Sale of marijuana ($5,000 or more); Sale of Other "Soft Drugs" ($500-$5,000); Possession of Other "Soft Drugs" (more than $5,000); Sale of "Heavy Narcotics" to support own habit; Receiving stolen property ($20,000 or over); Sexual act (fear--no injury); Burglary (Bank or Post Office); Robbery (no weapon or injury); Organized vehicle theft.
Category E: Very High Severity Offenses	Extortion; Assault (serious injury); Mann Act (force); Armed robbery; Sexual act (force--injury); Sale of "Soft Drugs" (other than marijuana--more than $5,000); Possession of "Heavy Narcotics" (nonaddict); Sale of "Heavy Narcotics" for profit.
Category F: Greatest Severity Offenses	Aggravated armed robbery (or other felony)--weapon fired or serious injury during offense; Kidnapping; Willful homicide.

Source: (5, pp. 28-29)

serious delinquent acts (3, p. 384). Rankings of 41 offenses were made by the evaluators who were 25 Minnesota probation and parole officers and 23 counselors from juvenile facilities in Minnesota. The offenses were scored as high, medium, or low seriousness, with corresponding numerical scores of 1, 2, and 3. Mean seriousness ratings for some typical offenses on this scale included (3, pp. 386-387):

Homicide	1.02
Rape	1.08
Aggravated arson	1.10
Robbery	1.32
Burglary	1.76
Larceny (over $100)	1.84

It is clear that the evaluators in this Minnesota study employed the criteria of violence and property loss in determining what is a serious offense.

Mueller, Jaman

In 1966, two years after the Sellin-Wolfgang scale was first published, Mueller and Jaman of the California Department of Corrections devised a severity scale to rate "the actual or threatened violent behavior of inmates in California correctional institutions" (7, p. 1). The scale was based on an examination of 40 typical institutional rule violations which were either violent or violence prone. Although others contributed to the development of the scale, the final ratings were made by 40 administrators in the Department of Corrections.

The resulting severity scale consisted of eight types of violence and one category of nonviolent infractions (7, p. 8), with a score of "0" for a nonviolent act to "10" for the most serious violent act. One point was added if the offense was against a "free person" (non-inmate). One point was deducted if the act was in self-defense. Table 3 (p. 24) presents material which is excerpted from the Inmate Institutional Violence Severity Scale (7, p. 10).

TABLE 3

INMATE INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE SEVERITY SCALE

TYPE OF VIOLENCE	SEVERITY SCORE		
	TO FREE PERSON	TO OTHER INMATE (Basic)	IN SELF DEFENSE
Death resulting from a violent act with intent to do bodily harm.	10	9	8
Major injury inflicted with a weapon.	8	7	6
Major injury inflicted with an object or with the body.	7	6	5
Minor or no reported injury inflicted with a weapon.	7	6	5
Threat with or possession of a weapon.	6	5	4
Threat with an object.	5	4	3
Minor or no reported injury inflicted with an object or body.	4	3	2
Threat in words or gestures only.	3	2	1
Nonviolent act, without intent to do bodily harm.	0	0	0

DEFINITIONS

MAJOR INJURY: A broken bone, internal injury, unconsciousness, cut needing stitches, deep puncture wound, and any injury requiring hospitalization or holding for medical observation.

MINOR INJURY: A cut, bruise, or abrasion needing no treatment or only slight treatment, such as antiseptic, band aids, or aspirin.

WEAPON: An instrument specifically altered to inflict bodily harm or one capable of inflicting bodily harm which doesn't belong in the immediate area or on the inmate's person; e.g., sharpened table knife, baseball bat in cell.

OBJECT: An unaltered instrument that does belong in the immediate area or on the inmate's person; e.g., hammer in carpenter shop, shoe on foot.

THREAT: Statement or gesture indicating intent to inflict physical harm.

POSSESSION: Control of a weapon either on one's person or by having concealed a weapon elsewhere.

SELF DEFENSE: Violent action taken by an inmate in an attempt to prevent physical harm to himself from an attack or threat by another inmate.

Source: 7, p. 10

This severity scale is meant only for institutional violence, and adult violence at that. It is of interest because it is quite specific with regard to measuring degrees of violence, which is the only criterion considered.

Blumstein

In an article entitled "Seriousness Weights in An Index of Crime" (1), Alfred Blumstein discusses the implementation of the Sellin-Wolfgang seriousness scale. As he comments, "This system has seen very little implementation in actual operations of a police department or as a national index, probably largely because of the complexity of determining the components and total scores for each individual crime" (1, p. 854). Blumstein then goes on to cite the 1974 study in St. Louis, Missouri which was carried out by Heller and McEwen (1, p. 854). In this study, Sellin-Wolfgang scores were prepared for "9,728 reported crimes in St. Louis over the period April 4 to May 30, 1971. They identified these scores as a means of identifying the seriousness of the offenses that occur in St. Louis and as an aid in allocating police resources to respond to seriousness rather than to the number of offenses. In the process, they developed an average seriousness score for each of the reported 'index crimes' as the sum of their seriousness scores divided by their number" (1, p. 855). Table 4 (p. 26) presents the average Sellin-Wolfgang score for the reported index crimes in St. Louis in that period (1, p. 855).

What Table 4 shows is that the UCR Crime Index and the Sellin-Wolfgang scale are closely correlated. There are no surprises. The average of all index crimes classified in the police records as homicide was 33.20. The average for rape was 15.33, robbery--6.43, and aggravated assault--9.74. All of these are considered by the UCR as violent offenses.

Continuing with the close correlation between UCR and Sellin-Wolfgang in the St. Louis study, it can be seen from Table 4 (p. 34) that the four violent crimes (homicide, rape, robbery, and aggravated

TABLE 4

Average Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scores for Index Crimes (developed by Heller and McEwen based on 9,728 reported offenses in St. Louis in April-May, 1971).

Index Crime	Average Seriousness Score Per Incident
Homicide	33.29
Rape	15.33
Robbery	6.43
Aggravated assault	9.74
Burglary	2.64
Larceny over $50	2.26
Auto theft	2.29

Source: (1, p. 855)

assault) all receive much higher Sellin-Wolfgang scores than the three crimes against property (burglary, larceny, and auto theft).

One may conclude that the UCR list of index crimes provides a rough measure of seriousness--except that some crimes not on the list may be equally as serious as ones that are on the list. One may also conclude that the three property crimes (burglary, larceny, and auto theft) are in no way as serious as the four violent crimes (homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault). Indeed, the total of the Sellin-Wolfgang scores for the three property crimes is 7.19 which is little higher than the Sellin-Wolfgang score of 6.43 for robbery, the lowest score given in the violent crime category. It may also be concluded that the Sellin-Wolfgang scale provides a useful measure of degree of seriousness within offense categories as well as a method of scoring individual crime events with their various components of personal injury and property loss.

The identified criteria of violence or injury to persons and property loss are supported by Blumstein and the Heller-McEwen study.

CHRONICITY AS A CRITERION

Two criteria have been suggested in this paper for determining what is a serious juvenile offense, namely, violence and property loss. A review of literature on the UCR Crime Index and of various seriousness scales has validated the use of these criteria. For the definition of who is a serious offender, a third criteria was suggested--chronicity. There are a number of questions which might be raised with regard to the role of chronicity in the definition of serious juvenile offender. For example, is a juvenile who has committed a series of petty offenses a serious offender because of the cumulative effect and cost to society of these misdeeds? If chronicity or recidivism is made a necessary element of the definition of serious offender, is the first time offender who commits a murder not a serious offender? What combination of violence, property loss, and chronicity in the offense history of a juvenile makes him or her a serious offender?

Writers such as Hamparian (4, p. 128), Strasburg (10, p. 45), and Wolfgang (16, pp. 70-71) agree that the chronic or recidivist juvenile offender is responsible for a disproportionate amount of all the offenses committed by youth, including a disproportionate amount of the serious crime. As for what constitutes a chronic offender, Hamparian defines a chronic offender as one who has committed five or more offenses (4, p. 5); Strasburg describes a chronic delinquent as one with "five or more charges in his record;" (10, p. 9), and Wolfgang also counted as chronic recidivists "those with 5 officially recorded delinquencies or more" (16, p. 88).

To say that a juvenile who commits a number of offenses is more appropriately called a serious juvenile offender than the typical first time offender is a matter of simple logic. The question is, where does one draw the line? According to the reasoning used thus far in this paper, the answer is that the application of seriousness scales will be of great assistance. This reasoning is supported by the finding of Wellford and Wiatrowski that there is "a very high degree of support for the assumption of additivity for the values of a scale of offense seriousness such as has been derived in . . . the Sellin and Wolfgang study" (15, p. 182). This means that it is valid to add together the various offenses of a single juvenile in order to derive a total seriousness score for that particular offender.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions may be drawn from the assessment of the serious juvenile offenses and offenders:

- The UCR list of index crimes--four violent crimes and three crimes against property is partially consistent with the use of violence and property loss as criteria in the definition of what is a serious juvenile offense.
- The severity scales reviewed generally agree with each other about what is serious and what is less serious.
- The severity scales suggest the use of violence and property loss as criteria in defining a serious juvenile offense.
- When seriousness scores are assigned to the seven UCR index crimes, according to the Sellin-Wolfgang scale, the scores for the violent crimes are significantly higher than the scores for property crimes. This suggests a basis for differentiating between serious and less serious juvenile offenses.
- When seriousness scores are assigned to specific criminal events, some offenses not in the UCR index may be rated as serious (e.g., arson), and some offenses which are subsumed under UCR index crimes may be rated as not serious (e.g., petty shoplifting).
- Chronicity is a reasonable criterion to add to violence and property loss when considering how to define who is a serious juvenile offender.
- The elements of violence, property loss and chronicity in the offense history of a juvenile may be scored according to the Sellin-Wolfgang seriousness scale to provide a relatively objective measure of who is a serious juvenile offender.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Two recommendations are presented, one regarding the definition of what is a serious juvenile offense, the other regarding who is a serious juvenile offender:

- A serious juvenile offense includes the following offenses (or ones of at least equal severity) as measured by the Sellin-Wolfgang seriousness scale:
  - homicide or voluntary manslaughter
  - forcible sexual intercourse
  - aggravated assault
  - armed robbery
  - burglary of an occupied residence
  - larceny/theft of more than $1,000
  - auto theft without recovery of the vehicle
  - arson of an occupied building
  - kidnapping
  - extortion
  - illegal sale of dangerous drugs
- A serious juvenile offender is one whose offense history includes adjudication for five or more serious offenses (on the Sellin-Wolfgang scale), or one who is adjudicated for one or more offenses whose severity is equal to homicide or forcible sexual intercourse as measured by the Sellin-Wolfgang scale.

APPENDIX A

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PART B

CHARACTERISTICS OF INCIDENTS AND INDIVIDUALS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report represents a synthesis of existing information and an assessment of the ability of this information to address three topics: (1) The Patterns and Trends of Serious Juvenile Crime; (2) The Spatial Distribution, Contexts, and Settings of Serious Juvenile Crime; and (3) The Characteristics of Juveniles Arrested and Adjudicated for Serious Offenses. This report is presented as a review of descriptive information important to establishing research priorities and subsequent policy orientations.

METHOD

The method employed in synthesizing and presenting information consisted of the following components: (1) An informal "grapevine survey" attempting to locate juvenile offense and offender information; (2) Compilation of data volumes available at a national level bearing upon juvenile crime or offenders; (3) A nationwide survey of State agencies to collect additional crime and offender information; and (4) A literature search using automated and manual retrieval methods to identify studies and existing literature bearing upon juvenile crime and offenders.

Collected information and literature was organized according to its ability to: (1) address serious juvenile crime and its relation to the seven Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) index offense types representing physical harm, threat or intimidation, substantial financial loss or frequency of occurrence; (2) distinguish between juvenile and other age groups; and (3) provide characteristic information pertinent to those juveniles arrested or adjudicated for index crimes. Information, data volumes, and studies meeting the above requirements were organized according to each

topical or subtopical area to which they were pertinent. Where data was extracted from national and State reports, it was organized and summarized through simple techniques of secondary analysis (medians, modes, rates, adjusted rates, percentages) and often graphically displayed.

KEY FINDINGS

Based upon existing information and literature the following findings were noted:

UCR Index Crime

- Juvenile arrest rates are stabilizing or declining since 1974 for all seven index offenses suggesting that the noted stabilization of violent crime is accompanied by a more general stabilization of all juvenile index crime.
- Serious property crime is more the province of juvenile age youth than violence, which is generally the province of young adult and adult age groups.
- Although current figures suggest a stabilization of juvenile index crime, there are subtle indications that juvenile age youth are increasingly being arrested for crimes of material gain.

Spatial Distribution, Contexts, Settings of Juvenile Index Crimes

- The regional and State distribution of violent crime versus index property crime is not related, suggesting different geographic correlations pertinent to each.
- Juvenile index crime may be highly concentrated in "enclaves" within the larger urban area.
- Youth mobility may become an increasingly major determinant of juvenile crime patterns.

Characteristics of Juveniles Arrested and Adjudicated for Index Crimes

- Juveniles arrested for violent versus serious property crimes are predominantly male, white (increasingly likely to be black) and vary with age (property offenders are generally somewhat younger).

- While juvenile index crime is stabilizing, different long-term patterns emerge regarding age and race; 16- and 17-year-olds and black juveniles are being arrested for an increasingly larger proportion of index crime.
- Court and corrections information suggests an over-representation of male, black, and other minority juveniles thus agreeing with similar disproportions noted in arrest statistics.
- Socioeconomic status, while not related to total delinquency, may be related to more serious juvenile crime.
- The chronic offender is similar to those adjudicated for index crimes: disproportionately male and black.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Answers to questions were limited by the nature of information commonly available. Regarding both crime and offenders, existing information is either inadequate or not compiled in a way to be useful to the topics of the report. Generally, better answers to questions of interest should involve the following:

- Explore the availability of the national juvenile court data to be available from the National Center for Juvenile Justice sometime in 1979.
- Extend the State survey to collect better State information via special request for the purposes of characterizing juveniles adjudicated for serious or index crimes.
- At one jurisdiction, determine how the characteristics of those arrested change as they proceed through the system.
- Attempt to tie together, descriptively, offense data with juveniles arrested for those offenses in several local jurisdictions.
- Describe the characteristics of offenders based upon the more serious "incidents" subsumed within the index offense label.
- Implement the study of chronicity within one State or jurisdiction by coding criminal history variables over time.
- Undertake a large self-report study designed to determine the characteristics of the "hidden" and known offender and compare the resulting crime and characteristic patterns with those drived from official data.

Policy implications based upon the limited findings suggest that while juvenile index crime may be stabilizing, it is also likely that it is becoming more condensed and specialized in terms of its contexts and those responsible. What has been typically thought of as a juvenile crime wave may increasingly be restricted to certain areas and juvenile age years, race, possibly socioeconomic status, and an increasing motivation for material gain. This suggests that juvenile crime might represent a future concern more related to the pursuit of material needs rather than the older image of the violent juvenile.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The topic of serious juvenile crime has long been a major concern of public and political debate throughout the United States. The precendents for this discussion range from the efforts of Presidential commissions to legislative proposals and various kinds of media coverage. While numerous facets of youth crime ranging from prevention, intervention, control, treatment, sentencing, and punishment are often discussed, more fundamental questions remain unanswered. While various arguments persist regarding the relative merits of punishment versus treatment of the juvenile offender, such debate continues while little is known about either the current amount of juvenile crime, its trends, or its perpetrators. Recent discussion of the serious juvenile offender, for example, prompted the organization of a national symposium organized in part to discuss the following (51, p. 1):

- relative scope of the problem of serious youth crime and how this has varied over time across population groups
- characteristics of the population of serious juvenile offenders and how these have varied over time across jurisdictions.

While these topics represented guiding themes for the symposium, the extend to which the symposium addressed or answered these questions was not extensive. While the symposium concludes that "the best predictors of future violence seem to be the relatively enduring characteristics of the offender--race, sex, socioeconomic status,..." (52, p. 177), few answers to the questions of the scope of serious youth crime, its variation over time, or how characteristics of offenders vary over time emerged. As a result, this report wishes to supplement the efforts of the symposium by further assessing the extent to which current literature and information can answer questions regarding: (1) the national patterns and trends of serious juvenile crime; (2) the spatial distribution and contexts of serious juvenile crime; and, (3) the characteristics of the serious juvenile offender.

Based upon the precedent of the national symposium, this report is not interested in all juvenile crime, but that which can be defined as "serious." Serious juvenile crime represents a major problem since the ambiguity of the term and its relationship to existing information capabilities is not evident. The national symposium, for example, states that an issue it was prepared to discuss is "criteria by which a serious juvenile offender can be defined and the extent to which such criteria are synonymous with either the commission of a violent offense or a series of non-violent offenses" (51, p. 1). The resulting definitions of the symposium combine, in various forms, offense seriousness and chronicity (52, p. 177) although a distinction is made between the number of violent versus property offenses that must be committed to qualify as a serious juvenile offender. The definition adopted by the present report involves a combination of the Uniform Crime Reports "Index Crimes" and the Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scale.

The description of crime and offenders is bounded by several other issues which affect this entire report. It would be helpful to know the "total amount" of serious juvenile crime made up of unreported incidents plus known offenses. Therefore, a primary goal of this report is to assess the extent to which official, victimization, and self-report information can determine either the total amount of serious crime or that reported to the police for which juveniles are responsible. Similar reasoning applies to the description of those responsible for reported or unreported incidents, i.e., the characteristics of juveniles arrested or adjudicated for a serious offense. The report also weights the advantages and disadvantages of types of official information towards the measure of crime and offenders given that such information is "biased" by the characteristics of the system. For example, while official arrest data is closest to the actual "incidents" later recorded as arrests, correctional information provides the best description of those adjudicated as offenders. Arrest data provides a description of suspects, some proportion of whom are later adjudicated as offenders. On the other hand, court and correction information, representing further penetration into the system, provide a better picture of those adjudicated but lose insight as to both serious incidents and the non-adjudicated offender. Throughout the report, the ability to address key topics will depend upon these kinds of issues.

The topics of this report are approached as an assessment which, while implying reliance upon current literature and information, more precisely means "...what has been accomplished...identifying findings either in agreement or in contention and questions yet to be raised" (62, pp. 46-47). This definition represents the parameters and thus limitations of this effort since existing information may not permit, in some instances, adequate answers to these topics of interest. Therefore, the term assessment implies two facets: (1) a review and critique of existing literature and information, its organization, and particularly its ability to address the topics of interest, and (2) synthesizing existing literature and information, thus permitting the best answers currently possible to the topics of interest.

A variety of assessment criteria were applied to current literature and information before incorporating them in the report. Briefly, three topics of information were collected: (1) summary data volumes available at the national or State level; (2) published books or articles; and (3) unpublished documents, no matter what their origin. Given the great reliance of this report upon various volumes of data, major questions arose regarding the place of the "special request," i.e., the request for computer runs of data on file. At one extreme, special requests would have permitted more direct answers to the questions of this report, although such an approach does not fit well with the assessment definition, i.e., "what has been accomplished." For example, this effort included a nationwide survey of data volumes and reports available at a State level. If information routinely provided was not usable to the report, no additional "special requests" were made, although such requests might have improved upon the usefulness of collected information. Admittedly, while a fine line exists between what has been accomplished and the special request, it was concluded that the latter should not be a major part of this report.

In instances where existing literature was not sufficient to address the three topical areas, reliance was placed upon "secondary analysis" typically involving extraction, compilement, or computation using data in existing reports. In its most sophisticated form, the secondary analysis consists of the use or computation of percentages, rates and adjusted rates, and measures of central tendency (medians, modes). Throughout the report, the relative weight placed upon secondary analysis versus assessment varies depending upon the ability of current literature to address the topics of interest.

Two organizing principles were applied to the information included in this report. The first principle dictates that major priority in all subsequent chapters be given to the "national picture" which relies upon information sources or studies which are based upon case sizes large enough to qualify as having national implications. Of second priority (at least to Chapter IV) is discussion of State data sources, followed by the contribution of studies towards the identification of the serious juvenile offender. This reasoning is somewhat different than other reports since the population or sample size of the report or study is the major determinant of whether or not it achieves national significance. The second principle involves the descriptive orientation of the report, i.e., numerous descriptive conclusions are presented although extensive explanation for why these descriptions exist (their etiology) is not provided. Thus, the amount of descriptive information provided far exceeds the amount of interpretive discussion.

The structure of the report involves three major substantive chapters: (1) National Patterns and Trends of Serious Juvenile Crime; (2) The Spatial Distribution, Contexts, and Settings of Serious Juvenile Crime; and (3) The Characteristics of the Serious Juvenile Offender. Partial rationale for this kind of organization is based upon an attempt to incorporate both psychogenic and socioeconomic perspectives into this report. Consideration of distance between these perspectives dictated that both the contexts and settings of serious juvenile crime as well as intrinsic characteristics, e.g., age, sex, and race be examined. Chapter V represents a conclusion and synthesis of the previous three chapters and incorporates sections devoted to research recommendations and policy implications. Following the general text is a variety of appendices, the most important being Appendix B (p. 259) which discusses official, self-report, and victimization information and the appropriateness of each to the topics of this report. The most critical part of the appendix, in fact of the entire report, is the orientation toward dependence upon Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) arrest information. No doubt the general controversy over this type of information will be continually debated for the foreseeable future.

It is hoped that this report will provide additional information involving either (1) recommendations of future research to better answer questions of serious juvenile crime, or (2) information of descriptive importance which has not been heretofore frequently disclosed. While the report, as an assessment, may only identify limited new findings, it will suggest a variety of short- and long-term research implications and selected policy implications.

CHAPTER II

SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME: NATIONAL PATTERNS

> There is little doubt that the 1960-75 increases in the volume of violent youth crime and the rate of extremely serious youth crime are real (127, p. 20).
>
> There is some evidence...that offenses of violence are decreasing, and that this decrease is due in large measure to declining rates of youth violence (131, p. 32).

Appearing in different reports, these two quotes are the product of the same author. Hearings conducted by the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency in April of 1978 confirm the recent decrease in juvenile arrests for violent offenses (117, pp. 84, 249, and 258). Several testimonies presented at the hearings maintained that the perceived "crime wave" of juvenile violence is more a function of media attention than any actual increase in arrests (117, p. 253). While apparently contradictory, they do, in effect, indicate two separate trends. The first quote attests to the commonly recognized increase in youth violence through 1975 while the second acknowledges the beginning of a decrease from 1975 through early 1977. While the above statements are confined to youth violence, few issues would seem to be as important as to whether serious juvenile crime is increasing or decreasing. This chapter attempts to explore this topic as well as other related ones by addressing three key questions: "How Much Serious Crime Is Committed by Juveniles?", "Is Serious Juvenile Crime Increasing?", and "How Much Serious Crime Is Committed by Juveniles in Relation to Other Age Groups?". Initial answers to these questions are sought in sources that review or allow secondary analysis of national level data.

Data sources that can be used to develop a national profile of serious juvenile crime are limited to those which are collected nationwide and those which allow categorization by offense and age group. Alternate data sources, such as victimization information (114) allow an alternate estimate of serious crime, but there is only the "perceived age of the offender" by which inferences can be made to juveniles. Also, these estimates are confined to person offenses where human recall is presumably reliable. Victimization data also permits proportionate discussion of crime by age group but not based upon the frequency of incidents. Self-report studies might ideally provide some insight to "hidden crime" although, as discussed in Appendix B (p. 269), most such studies rely upon sample sizes too small to permit justifiable extrapolations to the national level.

It might be informative to look at data from each component of the justice system--i.e., police, courts, and corrections--thereby considering different views of the amount of crime associated with offenders as reported by various junctures in the system. Unfortunately, national statistics available for the two latter components are based only upon the aggregate category "juvenile delinquent," which does not fulfill the requirements for age and offense breakdowns* (113, 30). Lacking other data sources, attempts to answer key questions must depend primarily on a review of Uniform Crime Reports arrest data and limited literature appropriate to this topic.

Unfortunately, UCR arrest data may not be an adequate measure of crime due to the fact that arrest data refers to numbers of people arrested rather than the number of reported offenses and (at least in part) reflects levels of police activity. In regard to juveniles, a particular problem arises since youth are more likely to be arrested in groups, thus having the effect of overestimating the volume of crime (130, p. 22). On the other hand, only a proportion of reported offenses are cleared through arrest; thus reported arrests have the effect of underestimating the volume of crime. These problems offset each other to some extent, although the resulting reported figure may be an inaccurate and distorted reflection of crime.

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*The two documents being referred to are Juvenile Court Statistics and Children in Custody.

UCR statistics are also questioned for a variety of other reasons. Some of these are related to law enforcement practices such as: variations in police apprehension methods from one community to another and one year to the next (14, pp. 110-114, and 108, p. 179). Also, differences in social, economic, and political pressures acting upon the individual police departments (78, pp. 26-27); and variations in the strength of police forces, which limit or enhance their ability to uncover criminal activity (14, pp. 113-114), may be significant. There are victim-related factors, such as wide variations in citizen-reporting of different offenses (60, p. 19, and 14, pp. 106-110). Personal traits of both offender and victim may influence the way in which an arrest is recorded (78, p. 27 and 14, p. 109-110). And, there are procedural techniques used in UCR which limit its usability, such as: the reporting of only the most serious offense when several are committed simultaneously, leading to an underreporting of crime which has been shown to become more pronounced as the seriousness of the offense decreases (60, p. 29). Finally, as discussed earlier, reporting the number of arrests as opposed to number of offenses committed will often overestimate the volume of juvenile crime, since juveniles are more likely to be arrested in groups than are adults (130, p. 22).

There is little doubt that each of these factors will have some impact on descriptions of juvenile crime which use UCR data.

However, it is conjectural whether these problems, alone or in combinations, have dramatically affected over time comparisons of arrest information. As noted in Appendix B (p. 267)* the assumption of faulty recording practices and other problems at the local reporting level would have to involve large numbers of reporting agencies simultaneously to dramatically affect national arrest data over time.

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*A variety of specific issues relevant to this issue are discussed in Appendix B. The reader is encouraged to read this appendix, paying special attention to the ability of UCR data to answer important questions making up the major part of this report.

Since much of this report attempts over time or trend comparisons of UCR data, changes of reporting population and changes in police activity over time were considered. Appendix C (p. 299) discusses these potential problems and the methods employed to study their importance. Briefly, it should be noted that this report computed rates adjusted for the proportion of the total United States population represented by the UCR reporting population per year. Generally, this proportion or percentage ranges from 69 percent (1964) to 92 percent (1977) for tables reporting age of persons arrested, 58 percent (1964) to 87 percent (1977) for sex, and 62 percent (1964) to 91 percent (1977) for race.

Specific techniques used to compute adjusted rates are presented in Appendix C (p. 331), although it is sufficient to note that such adjustments have the effect of modifying the direction of trends but also proportionately increasing, by a certain factor, arrest rates for each year. After carefully weighing the time limitations versus the advantage to be gained by adjusting rates (particularly for race), it was decided to adjust rates with the knowledge that some overestimation of the true rates might result but would not affect the general relationship of trends over time. Again, the reader is referred to Appendix C (p.300) for a discussion of these issues.

As to police activity, either increased or decreased over time, affecting the number of people arrested, another check was employed. Here, the technique of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (60, p. 33) was used in which reported arrests and offenses were plotted. The assumption here was that if police were arresting more people over time, the proportion of arrests to offenses would increase over time. If arrests were not increasing, one would expect these proportions to remain relatively constant. The results of this exercise (Chapter V, (pp. 260-261) suggest that arrest activity has not increased at a greater rate than offenses, in turn suggesting that police are not arresting more persons per reported offense. Unfortunately, this comparison could not be applied to juveniles versus other age groups, and therefore is only suggestive and not final. Also, such a check cannot assume that reported arrests and offenses are not increasing together as a function of better reporting procedures, particularly with the advent of automated data bases.

Findings noted throughout this and subsequent chapters are based upon discussion of either frequencies or rates. Generally, frequencies are used to describe numbers or proportions of arrests for comparisons of single year data. However, for making over time or multi-year inferences, rates are used to adjust for population fluctuations associated with various population subgroups. Rates therefore provide a better basis than frequencies for making inferences associated with subgroups but do not accurately depict the changing distribution of arrest frequencies.

It is helpful to assess the relative merits of rates and frequencies envisioning the value of each to various audiences. For example, citizens and law enforcement personnel on the street are generally concerned with proportionate characteristics of those arrested for crimes based upon frequencies. That is, frequencies adjusted for population changes are not relevant to the potential victim since his or her perspective is generally dominated by how much crime occurs or who the perpetrator (as confronted on the street) may be. The planner and policymaker, on the other hand, is often more concerned (in over time studies) with proportionate studies of what kinds of crime are associated with various subgroups. Simply put, it is difficult to examine the over time inferences of, for example, crime by female juveniles without controlling for the growth of this sub-population. Thus, rates in many cases are more appropriate to planners since they permit comparison of sub-population arrest rates controlled for population fluctuations.

Rates also have a greater impact on policy implications since they permit cursory etiological inferences to be made regarding the crime, or at least arrest "proneness," of various subgroups. Unfortunately, the simplicity of the classificatory variables (age, sex, race) are of only limited value here since they have few causal or preventive implications.

This report stresses the use of rates in making over time inferences, recognizing, of course, that frequencies provide a different kind of information pertinent to certain audiences. However, given the estimated use of the information, the use of rates was felt to be preferable.*

DEFINITION OF SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME

In order to answer the question of how much serious crime is committed by juveniles, it is necessary to determine the meaning of "serious." In the definitional volume of this report, the following definition is recommended: "a serious juvenile offense includes the following offenses (or ones of at least equal severity) as measured by the Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scale:

homicide or voluntary manslaughter
forcible sexual intercourse
aggravated assault
armed robbery
burglary of an occupied residence
larceny-theft of more than $1,000
auto theft without recovery of the vehicle
arson of an occupied building
kidnapping
extortion
illegal sale of dangerous drugs."**

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*Ideally, it would be better to present both rates and frequencies, although such a report would be extremely difficult to present due to the estimated length of such a document. The alternate implications of rates and frequencies become extremely important to the characteristics section which is discussed later.

**See Volume II, Part A, Definition, p. 30, of this report series entitled, A National Assessment of Serious Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice System: The Need for a Rational Response.

In the case of a particular offense, it is recommended that the Sellin-Wolfgang scale be used to determine seriousness. The list given above is not exhaustive. There are other offenses which might be included, and not all of the offenses listed will in every case be serious.

It is important to note the difference between the definition of a serious offense recommended in this report and what is described as a serious offense in the Uniform Crime Reports. The UCR examines seven crimes to provide an overview of crime in the United States. These seven are called the index crimes. Four of the index crimes are listed as violent crimes (crimes against persons). These are:

- murder and non-negligent manslaughter
- forcible rape
- robbery
- aggravated assault

Three of the index crimes are listed as index property crimes since they result in direct property loss to the victim. These are:

- burglary
- larceny-theft
- motor vehicle theft (111, p. 307)

All seven of the index crimes are considered by UCR to be serious crimes, selected because of their "seriousness,... frequency of occurrence, and likelihood of being reported to the police" (111, p. 1).

From the point of view of the recommended definition of a serious juvenile offense developed in this report, the UCR standard of what is a serious crime presents a problem. Namely, the UCR system provides no way to ascertain what is more serious and what is less serious--or not serious at all--within the categories of the seven index crimes. This problem takes on added importance when considering the property crimes within the index crimes (i.e., burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft). According to the definition of serious recommended in this report, not all burglary, larceny, or auto theft incidents would be considered serious. The reason for this is that the harm to the victims of these offenses can vary greatly depending upon the degree of property loss. The important point is that there are degrees of seriousness within the UCR index crimes, and that there may be an appreciable amount of non-serious crimes recorded as serious under the UCR system. The problem is compounded by the fact that the UCR data are by far the most widely used statistics on either juvenile or adult crime and are the only offense specific figures systematically gathered on a national basis.

Since the Uniform Crime Reports provide the most complete and the most readily available information on juvenile crime, they will, of necessity, be used in this report. Before presenting information from the Uniform Crime Reports, however, the problem of how to separate out serious from non-serious juvenile crime within the UCR index crime categories will be addressed.

The Problem of Comparative Degrees of Seriousness Within the Index Crime Categories

In the Uniform Crime Reports for 1977, the statement is made that, "with respect to seriousness, it is generally agreed that violent crimes are more severe than most property crimes. However, accurately ascertaining the comparative degree of seriousness is problematic at the present time" (111, p. 308). This overstates the case. In 1964, Sellin and Wolfgang published their book, The Measurement of Delinquency (13), in which a method was developed for ascertaining "the comparative degree of seriousness." Since that time, other researchers have developed similar seriousness scales.* There have also been research efforts in which Sellin-Wolfgang scores have been applied to arrest data, including a study in St. Louis, Missouri, by Heller and McEwen (49). The various studies have shown (1) that severity scales agree with each other and (2) that the violent offenses in the UCR Crime Index have higher average seriousness scores than the property offenses in the crime index. However, even the seriousness scales do not provide a totally objective method of defining what is a "serious juvenile offense." The seriousness score itself is objective. For example, one can objectively say that a larceny of $250 would receive a Sellin-Wolfgang score of "2." However, the determination of a cutoff point between serious and less serious (e.g., a score of "3" or "4" on the Sellin-Wolfgang Scale) requires a subjective judgment be made. The point at which this cutoff is made will, of course, determine the volume of crime which is considered serious. A low cutoff point would lead to an estimate of a high volume of crime, while a higher cutoff point would lead to a much lower estimate.

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*For a more detailed discussion of seriousness scales, see Volume II, Part A, Definition, of this report series entitled, A National Assessment of Serious Crime and the Juvenile Justice System: The Need for a National Response.

It is true that the average seriousness scores for violent offenses are much higher than those for property offenses. However, it should be noted that according to the Sellin-Wolfgang Scale, a wide range of scores is possible for each offense. The index crimes could receive the following scores: murder, 26; forcible rape, 10 to 12; robbery, 3 to 18; aggravated assault, 4 to 11; burglary, 1 to 8; larceny-theft, 1 to 7; and motor vehicle theft, 2 to 9. A wider range of scores indicated that within that particular offense, a great deal of variation is possible in terms of the seriousness of an incident. Examination of these scores indicates that, although the peak score is generally higher for violent offenses than for property offenses, a "gray area" exists where the two can overlap. Of course, an important part of defining serious juvenile crime is to determine the amount of property crime which falls in this "gray area" and is thus serious. At the present time, the statistics simply are not available to make such an estimate. The problem is not so much in determining the comparative degree of seriousness between UCR offenses, but rather within offense categories. The inability to distinguish between "serious" and "less-serious" incidents is especially important for the category of larceny-theft, and to a lesser extent for the categories of burglary and motor vehicle theft. The reason larceny-theft takes on special importance is that over half of the arrests of persons under 18 for index crimes are in this category. Specifically, in 1977 there were 818,994 arrests of persons under 18 for all seven index crimes, of which 431,747 (52.7 percent) were for larceny-theft (111, p. 180). What proportion of these juvenile arrests were for offenses of a comparatively serious nature, and what proportion were for offenses of less serious or even petty significance? Unfortunately, UCR does not provide the information needed to answer this question, since their data do not indicate which larceny incidents result in major, as opposed to minor, property loss. For example, prior to 1973, only larceny-theft resulting in property loss of more than $50 was included as an index crime. Since that time, however, UCR includes all larceny-theft regardless of dollar loss (108, p. 5). This further blurs the distinction between serious and non-serious offenses.

The Uniform Crime Reports do include a larceny analysis of offenses reported, not arrests, which shows a breakdown of types of larceny. The types of larceny given are purse snatching, pocket-picking, theft from coin machines, shoplifting, bicycle theft, theft from motor vehicles, theft from buildings, theft of motor vehicle accessories, and "all others" (111, p. 30). It can be seen from this list that some incidents of larceny might be considered as more serious than others. Purse snatching, for example, because of the element of intimidation, would ordinarily be more serious than the theft of a petty item of merchandise. However, the UCR larceny analysis fails to provide the information needed to determine what proportion of larceny-theft arrests of juveniles are serious and what proportion are non-serious. This is because: (1) the analysis is based on offenses reported rather than on arrests, (2) the analysis does not distinguish between juveniles and adults, and (3) there is no way of distinguishing between serious and less serious offenses within the types of larcenies listed.

In a similar way, the UCR data does not distinguish between types of burglary. In 1977, there were 233,904 arrests of persons under 18 for burglary, or 28.5 percent of the total for all index crimes for those under 18. Again, there are figures presented on residence burglary as compared to nonresidence burglary (111, p. 25), but these are not broken down by age. Therefore it is impossible to determine, by the UCR figures, how many burglary arrests of juveniles involve the more serious residential type as compared with the less serious nonresidential or commercial type.

Finally, with regard to the index property crimes, the UCR data does not distinguish between types of motor vehicle theft, with the exception that "taking of a motor vehicle for temporary use by those persons having lawful access" is excluded (111, p. 32). But the UCR does not distinguish, either for adults or juveniles, between an auto theft where the vehicle is never recovered and a theft in which the vehicle is recovered undamaged a short time later. It is doubtful that the latter type should be classified as serious.

Even among the violent crimes in the UCR list of index crimes, there may be offenses which are not in every case serious. For example, some robberies may involve incidents such as "schoolground extortions" of small change, and may not truly constitute serious crime. There is no way of making such distinctions within the UCR framework.

Chiefly, however, the concern here is with the property crimes listed in the UCR Crime Index. These crimes constituted 90 percent of the approximately 818,000 arrests of juveniles for index crimes in 1977 (111, p. 180). If this is an accurate indication of arrests for offenses which are serious in nature, this fact should be taken into account in considering the UCR data.

Exploration of Alternatives for Determining Degrees of Seriousness Within UCR Index Crime Categories

Given the fact that the UCR data does not enable simple or precise separation of the serious from the less serious offenses within the index crime categories, is there any way of estimating this from other sources? Some of the possible alternatives will be considered below.

Application of Seriousness Scales

If a seriousness scale was to be applied to actual offenses reported, it would be possible to determine the proportion of serious and non-serious offenses within specific index crime categories. In March 1973, Heller and McEwen reported on a study which did, in fact, attach Sellin-Wolfgang scores to a total of 9,728 offenses reported to the St. Louis Police Department during the eight week period of April 4 to May 29, 1971 (49). They found that the average seriousness of crimes against the person was "four times as great as the average seriousness for crimes against property and that two-thirds of the harm from crime may be attributed to property loss, and one-sixth each to physical injury and intimidation" (49, p. 242). Heller and McEwen computed the seriousness scores of all UCR Part I offenses reported to the St. Louis police in the eight week period. The resulting scores are displayed in Table II-1, below.

TABLE II-1

AVERAGE SERIOUSNESS OF INDEX CRIMES

CRIME	SERIOUSNESS SCORES
HOMICIDE	33.29
RAPE	15.33
ROBBERY	6.43
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	9.74
BURGLARY	2.64
LARCENY OVER $50	2.26
AUTO THEFT	2.29

SOURCE: 49, P. 246

Table II-1 (p. 70) clearly reflects their findings that the crimes against persons have much higher average scores than the crimes against property,* but the information which might show relative degrees of seriousness within index crime categories is not given in the March 1973 journal article.

It would appear that studies such as that by Heller and McEwen could potentially provide a method for estimating the proportion of serious and less serious or non-serious offenses contained within UCR index crimes arrest figures. At the present time, however, no studies have been located which would provide offense specific scores for juveniles.

State Arrest Data

Some States use an incident based reporting system. This permits a degree of breakdown of types of incidents within the UCR Index Crime categories. In a preliminary effort to obtain data of this kind, figures on juvenile arrests and apprehensions were obtained from four States--Illinois, Florida, Georgia, and Oregon.** For these four States, there was only one index crime for which it was possible to determine some degree of seriousness according to the manner in which the data was recorded--larceny-theft.

In Illinois, 89 percent of all juvenile larceny incidents in 1977 resulted in a dollar loss of $150 or less to the victim.*** These incidents did not, however, all result in arrest. After apprehension, some of the juveniles were released or diverted for handling outside of the justice system. Notwithstanding the fact that some of the less serious cases were probably diverted, it is clear that the great bulk of juvenile arrests in Illinois for larceny were for incidents of a non-serious nature if judged by the Sellin-Wolfgang scale and the definition of seriousness recommended in this report.

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*Although not directly relevant to the present consideration of serious juvenile crime, it is interesting to note that Heller and McEwen found that "traffic accidents have greater seriousness than Part I offenses" (49, p. 247). This is due to the considerable personal injury and property loss factors.

**It is likely that other States have or soon will have incident based data available. As of this writing, this kind of information had been received from only the four States named.

***Figures obtained via telephone contact with the Illinois Department of Law Enforcement.

Similarly, Florida data for 1978 shows that 74 percent of all larceny offenses cleared by the arrest of a juvenile involved a loss of less than $50. Another 11 percent involved a loss between $50 and $100 (36). Therefore, the overwhelming majority of these juvenile incidents must be considered non-serious.

In Georgia, the 1978 data on larceny-theft was divided into categories such as shoplifting, theft from a motor vehicle, theft of livestock, and purse snatching (no force), theft from coin machines, theft from buildings, postal thefts, bicycle thefts, and "other larceny" (40). Unfortunately, there were no figures on the amount of property loss suffered by the victim, and therefore no way to estimate seriousness. Another deficiency of the Georgia data was that the classification "other larceny" accounted for approximately 60 percent of the total. The information would have to be more highly developed to be useful for purposes of determining relative degrees of seriousness.

In Oregon, 1977 arrest statistics for larceny were classified on the basis of whether the property loss was more or less than $200. Eighty-six percent of the juvenile arrests for larceny were in the less serious category of "under $200" (68, p. 69). This is consistent with the Illinois data. However, the Oregon information also suffered from serious limitations, including the fact that the two populous jurisdictions of Portland and Multnomah County did not report offenses by dollar loss.

Until further information becomes available from these and other States developing incident based reporting systems, it is impossible to draw any conclusions as to the relative degrees of seriousness within the index crime categories on this basis. If incident based reporting systems were more highly developed and more widely used, they could provide valuable information not presently available.

Victimization Surveys

Since 1973, the U.S. Bureau of the Census has annually conducted a national criminal victimization survey for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The National Crime Survey (NCS) report "focuses on certain criminal offenses, whether completed or attempted, that are of major concern to the general public and law enforcement authorities. For individuals, these offenses are rape, robbery, assault, and personal larceny; for households, burglary, household larceny, and motor vehicle theft; and for commercial establishments, burglary and robbery. In addition to measuring the extent to which some crimes occur, the surveys permit examination of the characteristics of victims and the circumstances surrounding the criminal acts, exploring as appropriate such matters as the relationship between victim and offender, characteristics of offenders, victim self-protection, extent of victim injuries, economic consequencies to the victims,....use of weapons..." and other factors (114, p. iii). With regard to economic consequencies, for example, personal and household crimes are tabulated according to the amount of monetary loss using the following categories: no monetary value, less than $10, $10-$49, $50-$249, $250 or more, and not known (114, p. 62). The NCS report also provides information regarding whether robberies involve injury or not, whether assaults are simple or aggravated and whether burglaries involved forced entry or not (114, p. 62). Such data could be useful in trying to ascertain degrees of seriousness within index crime categories except for one important factor--the lack of age breakdowns in the victimization surveys. Since the NCS reports are based on information from victims, there is no way of accurately establishing the ages of the offenders, or even whether the offenders are juveniles or adults.* This limitation severely restricts the usefulness of the NCS data in determining levels of seriousness within Index Crime offenses by juveniles.

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*Estimates of the ages of offenders are made by the victims, resulting in what is called "perceived ages." This is not an accurate method for determining if the offender is juvenile or adult.

Court Data

A new source of data on juvenile crime is the forthcoming but as yet unpublished study that is being carried out by the National Center for Juvenile Justice in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (79). This study is based on all 584,116 cases reported from the juvenile courts in a sample of 13 States, comprising 41 percent of the total child population at risk in the United States. (At risk is defined as children from the age of 10 to the upper age of the juvenile court jurisdiction for a particular State.) This study, which will be mentioned in later sections of this report, will provide a great deal of information on the characteristics of juveniles who come into the juvenile court, including types of offenses and dispositions. However, there is no apparent application of this study to the problem of determining comparative degrees of seriousness within index crime categories. Shoplifting is separated out from other kinds of larceny, but no dollar amounts are given. Therefore, there is no way to determine which shoplifting offenses or which "other larcenies" are serious or nonserious.

Self-Report Studies

Finally, self-report studies may be mentioned briefly in the consideration of possible methods for determining degrees of seriousness within index crime categories. The chief value of self-report studies is that they give an indication of unreported crime and thus supplement the knowledge available in police records. The self-report studies, however, have features which limit their value in ascertaining relative degrees of seriousness. They tend to result in information on the less serious or even trivial incidents, partly because they rely heavily on children in school and thus underrepresent many of the out-of-school juveniles who are more likely to be involved in serious offenses. Another limitation of the self-report studies to date has been relatively small sample size, a handicap to generalizability. Thus, although the self-report studies provide valuable information not available elsewhere, they do not aid in solving the problem of relative degrees of seriousness within index crime categories.

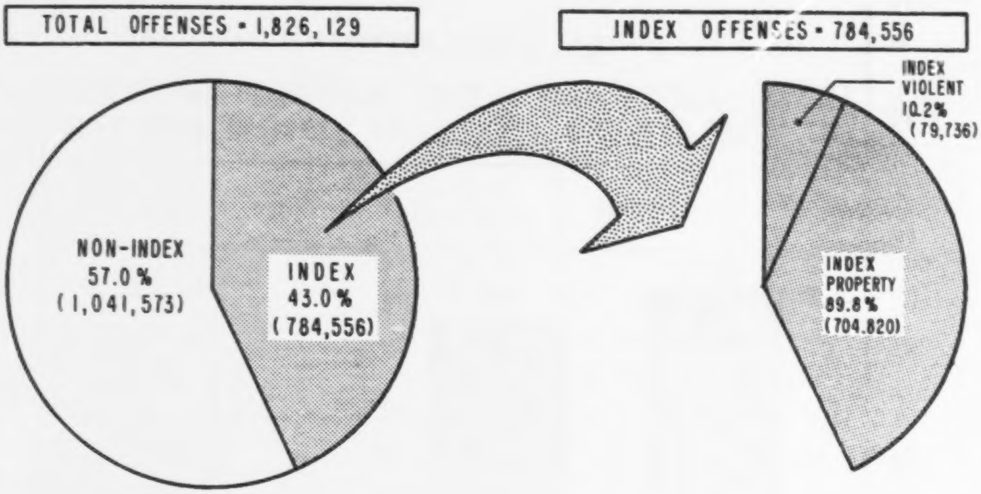
This exploration of possible methods of determining degrees of seriousness within index crime categories has not yielded any definitive answers to the problem. Further analysis of the information developed by Heller and McEwen (49) in which the Sellin-Wolfgang scale was applied to UCR offenses appears to be one of the promising avenues for this effort. State arrest data involving incident based reporting systems also holds promise. Perhaps estimates based on the victimization data of the National Crime Reports might be of assistance if a more accurate method of determining the age of the offender can be developed.

These and other possibilities, however, will have to wait until the present information is refined or new information becomes available. In the meanwhile, there is no simple, adequate way to ascertain what proportion of the offenses contained in the seven UCR index crimes--as reflected by juvenile arrests--are serious, and what proportion are not serious. As a result, we are left with little alternative but to compare aggregate arrest counts, by offense, for 1964 through 1977. The bulk of this report represents this orientation where total offense arrests are used as measures of crime and characteristics, although more precise distinctions based upon the more serious incidents would be preferable. Certainly, the inability to address the former issue, i.e., to define incidents as serious to less serious, requires that subsequent discussion of serious juvenile crime and the characteristics of those arrested or adjudicated for these crimes be qualified by the reminder that the index crimes are not necessarily serious.

It is uncertain the extent to which discussion of index crime trends from 1964 to 1977 accurately depicts the nature and volume of the more serious incidents. Certainly hidden within the conclusions made herein are the possibilities that: (1) the more serious arrests could hypothetically be unrelated to the general trends based upon all index offense arrests; and (2) the characteristics and composite profiles for those arrested for the more serious incidents may or may not be related to the characteristics and/or profiles derived from all index offense arrests. An amount of uncertainty therefore pervades all subsequent discussion, and each of the following sections are structured around the inability to resolve the above issues. Ideally, it would be preferable to make various refined distinctions regarding severity and then compare arrests and the associated characteristics of those arrested over time. Unfortunately, it is impossible at present to determine if arrest rates or the characteristics of those arrested are substantially different from the patterns that emerge in the following narrative. This must certainly be considered a problem in assessing whether serious juvenile crime is increasing or decreasing, since it can be assumed that within aggregate offense labels a variety of patterns could emerge if these distinctions could be made.

HOW MUCH SERIOUS CRIME IS COMMITTED BY JUVENILES?

As shown in Figure II-1 (p. 77) juveniles (11 through 17) accounted for approximately 1.8 million arrests in 1977, less than half of which fall into the category of index crimes. The majority of these index offenses were property crimes (90 percent), while relatively few would be classified as violent (10 percent). Clearly, juvenile index crimes are more heavily weighted towards property, as opposed to violence (131, p. 6). The UCR Crime Index is a composite measure of the violent and property crimes, used "to furnish an abbreviated and convenient measure of the crime problem" (100, p. 35). Being an aggregate measure of different offenses, heavily influenced by the volume of juvenile property crimes, it is questionable whether the Index gives a meaningful view of juvenile crime (110, p. 1). It would be helpful, therefore, to divide the Crime Index into two components, one reflecting the extent of



* - INDEX OFFENSES INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

** - NON-INDEX OFFENSES INCLUDE OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS OFFENSES, AND ALL OTHER CRIMINAL OFFENSES

PROPORTIONS OF INDEX* AND NON-INDEX** OFFENSES TO TOTAL ARRESTS, AND PROPORTIONS OF VIOLENT AND PROPERTY OFFENSES TO TOTAL INDEX OFFENSES, AGES 11-17, 1977

SOURCE: III, P.180

FIGURE II-1

violent offenses, and the other reflecting property offenses*** (60, p. 26). Presented as two separate indices, these would more accurately reflect the nature and extent of crime.***

Comparative figures are presented for separate violent offenses in Figure II-2 (p. 78). The most obvious point made by these figures is that the great majority of all violent offenses involve either robbery or aggravated assault, while forcible rape and murder contribute very little to the overall volume (111, p. 180). A problem arises in that the categories of aggravated assault and robbery are extremely vague, thus rendering their respective frequencies somewhat uninformative. By definition, aggravated assault can involve the use of anything from guns and knives to fists, with accompanying injury ranging from loss of a tooth to disabling injury (77, pp. 15-16). This same lack of offense

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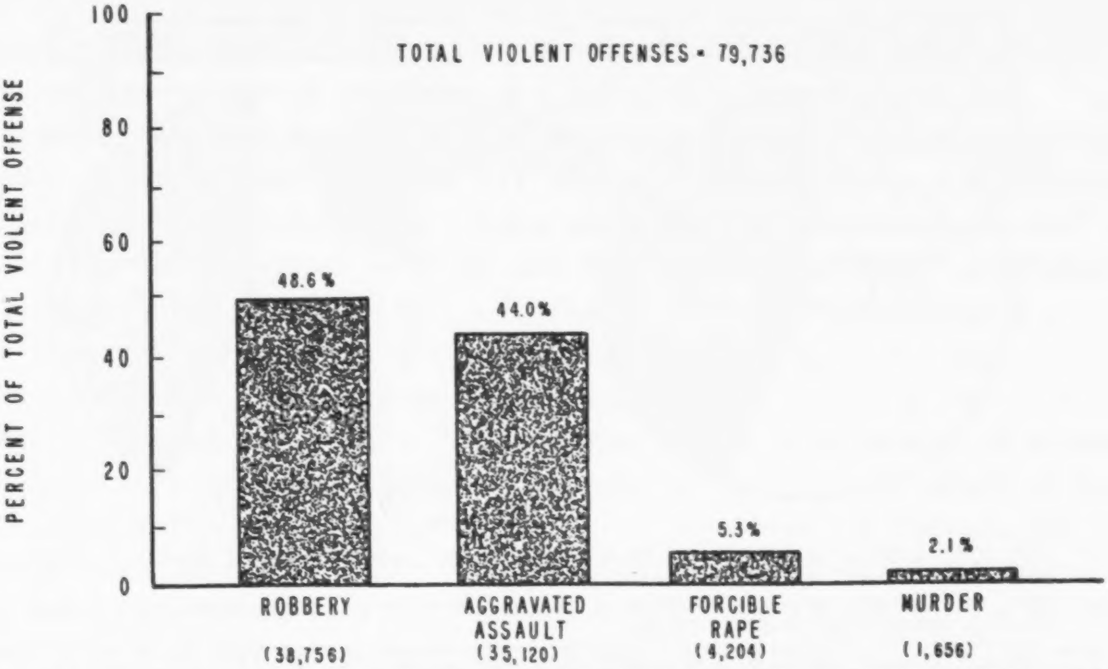
***The 1977 edition of Uniform Crime Reports does include this "paired" Index in an appendix discussion (111, p. 308).



NATIONAL ARREST FREQUENCIES AND PROPORTIONS OF INDIVIDUAL VIOLENT OFFENSES TO TOTAL VIOLENT OFFENSES, AGES 11-17, 1977

SOURCE: III, P. 180

FIGURE II-2

specificity holds true for robbery, since the UCR classification for this offense incorporates both the armed and unarmed types (77, pp. 82-83). Also, several sources have indicated that robberies committed by youthful offenders may be less serious than those committed by older offenders. In analysis of the National Crime Panel Surveys (14, p. 179) of noncommercial robberies, it was found that juvenile offenders were more likely to be unarmed than armed. They were found to be armed less often than were any other age groups (see Table II-2, p. 79). Zimring has also suggested that most adolescent offenders commit robberies at the "less serious end" of the scale, although the exact proportions are not know (131, p. 7). These findings lead one to be suspicious of classifying all robberies as violent or serious, especially for juveniles.*

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*In order to partially overcome the ambiguous nature of the aggravated assault and robbery offense categories, it may be advisable that UCR include the subclassifications of armed versus unarmed in arrest statistics.

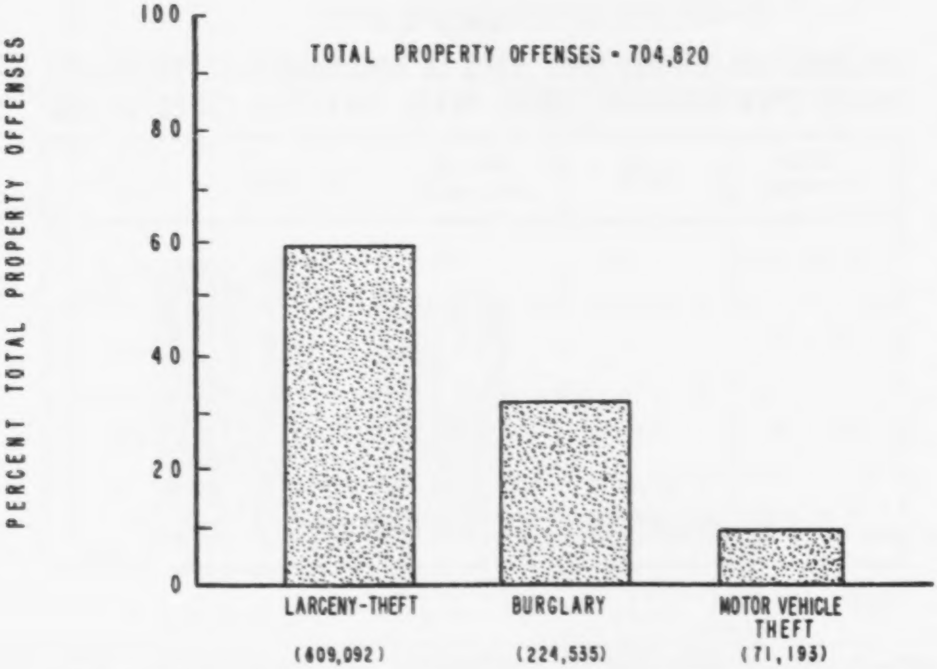
TABLE II-2

DISTRIBUTION OF WEAPONS USED IN NONCOMMERCIAL ROBBERY, BASED UPON NATIONAL CRIME PANEL SURVEYS FOR 26 CITIES

AGE OF OFFENDERS	GUN	KNIFE OR OTHER WEAPON	UNARMED	TOTAL
14 OR LESS	2 %	5 %	93%	100 %
15 - 17	7	38	54	100
18 - 20	18	45	37	100
21 OR OLDER	32	41	27	100

SOURCE: 14, P. 179

An examination of individual property offenses shows that the index property crimes are heavily weighted towards two offense types: larceny-theft and burglary (Figure II-3, p. 80). Together, these two offenses comprise nearly 90 percent of all index property crime, while motor vehicle theft contributes the small remaining proportion of arrests. A comparison of larceny-theft with robbery, which together comprise over half of all juvenile arrests for index offenses, should be made. By definition, these offenses both involve the "unlawful taking or attempted taking of property that is in the immediate possession of another" (77, pp. 58, 82). The difference between the two is that robbery involves the threat or use of force, while larceny-theft does not. If both of these are considered as one type of offense whereby property is taken from another person, it can be concluded that over 90 percent of these incidents do not involve force (larceny-theft), while relatively few actually involve the real or threatened use of force, based on 1977 UCR arrest statistics (111, p. 180).



NATIONAL ARREST FREQUENCIES AND PROPORTIONS OF INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY OFFENSES TO TOTAL PROPERTY OFFENSES, AGES 11-17, 1977

SOURCE: III, P. 180

FIGURE II-3

Discussion

Most of the findings presented regarding the nature and amount of juvenile crime are neither new or controversial. While there would be little doubt that juveniles are, to some extent, involved in serious crime, the extent of this involvement is unclear. Based upon the scoring principles of the Sellin-Wolfgang Scale (12, pp. 1-10), it is suggested that at least some of the index crimes should not be considered serious. The examination of alternate measures of crime indicated that no viable method of distinguishing the less serious from the more serious incidents is available. Acknowledging the ambiguity of the index crimes, it was decided that both the four violent crimes and the three property crimes be examined in terms of their relevance to serious juvenile crime.

The discussion of violent and property crimes is, of course, based upon information commonly available, which in this case consists of Uniform Crime Reports arrest data. Unfortunately, while there is logic for considering some of the property crime incidents as serious offenses, there is no reason to believe that all such incidents are equally serious. As previously noted, larceny-theft includes theft of less than $50, which is not as serious an event as the theft of $1,000. The inability to dissect the legal label according to the seriousness of specific events is the single greatest drawback of the use of UCR offense categories. Certainly, the result of the inability to make these distinctions results in an overestimation of serious crimes if one directly equates "index" with "serious."

IS SERIOUS CRIME COMMITTED BY JUVENILES INCREASING?

Figures II-4 and II-5 (p. 82) presents the juvenile population and index arrest volume for 1964 to 1977 (see Appendix E, Tables E-1 (p. 313) and E-2 (p. 314). The population increased steadily during the 1960's, then began to level off and decline. The volume of juvenile index arrests also increased during the 1960's, although at a more rapid pace, then fluctuated substantially during the 1970's. Population changes, therefore, cannot account in full for the changing frequencies of juvenile arrests which have been recorded. The relatively large fluctuations in recent years appear to be at least partially accounted for by changes in the number of agencies reporting to the FBI Uniform Crime Reports.*

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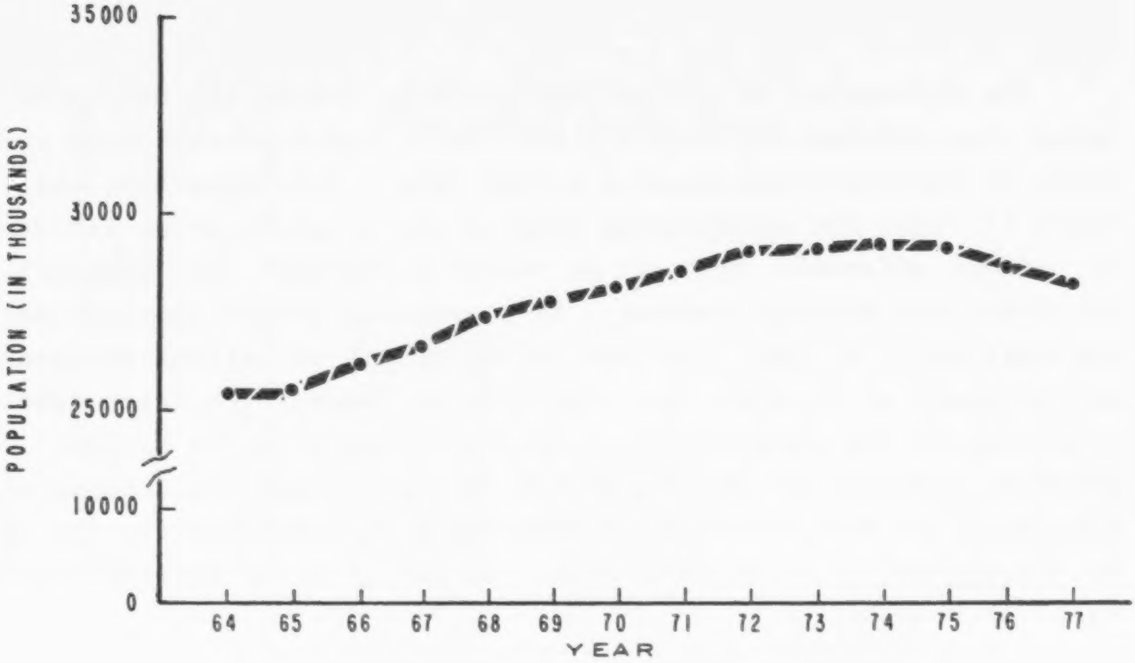
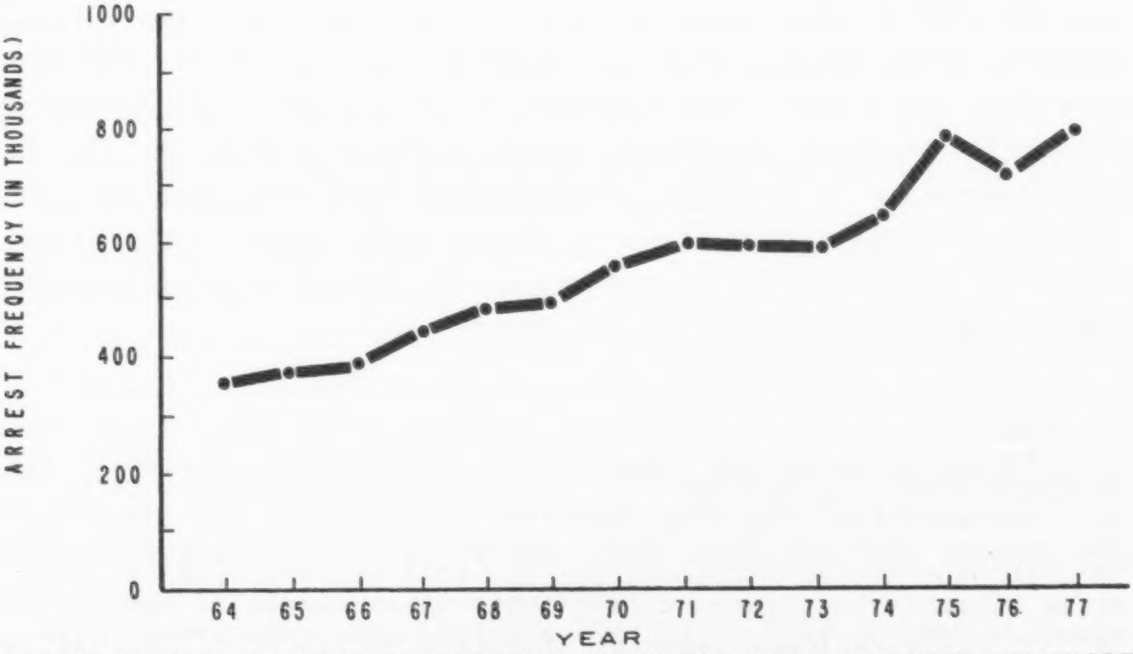
*Proportions of the total national population covered by jurisdictions reporting age-specific arrests to FBI's Uniform Crime Reports were computed for each year from 1964 to 1977. It was found that the percent coverage rose fairly gradually and steadily from 1964 to 1969, but varied widely during the 1970's. For example, 1974 arrest data is based upon a particularly low number of reporting agencies (108, p. 186) while 1975 and 1977 show relatively large increases over the previous years (1974 and 1976) in terms of population represented in arrest reports. There is little doubt that this accounts for some of the variation in offense rates. A more detailed discussion of this is presented in Appendix B.



NATIONAL POPULATION: AGES 11-17 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-1

FIGURE II-4



* INDEX OFFENSES INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

NATIONAL ARREST FREQUENCIES FOR INDEX* OFFENSES: AGES 11-17 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-2, P

FIGURE II-5

General assessment of the types of crimes for which juveniles have been arrested since 1964 requires a year-by-year comparison be made of the proportion (percentage) of total arrests that are for index crimes. Based on arrest frequencies, this percentage has changed very little during the time period of interest. Although there was a slight drop during 1965-1966, the percentage of all juvenile arrests which were for index offense has remained fairly constant, fluctuating between 42 percent and 46 percent. Assuming that the seriousness of the index crimes has not changed dramatically, these findings indicate that the volume of serious juvenile crime has remained relatively stable.

Figure II-6 (p. 84) compares juvenile arrest rates* for index versus non-index offenses. The adjusted rates for non-index offenses reflect fairly constant increases over the last ten years with a peak in 1974. Index offenses, on the other hand, increased steadily until 1974, at which point the rate "peaks,"** and then begins to decline, rising again in 1977 (see Appendix E, Table E-3, p. 349 for sources). This would indicate that juveniles are becoming increasingly involved in less serious crimes, although current trends are mixed.

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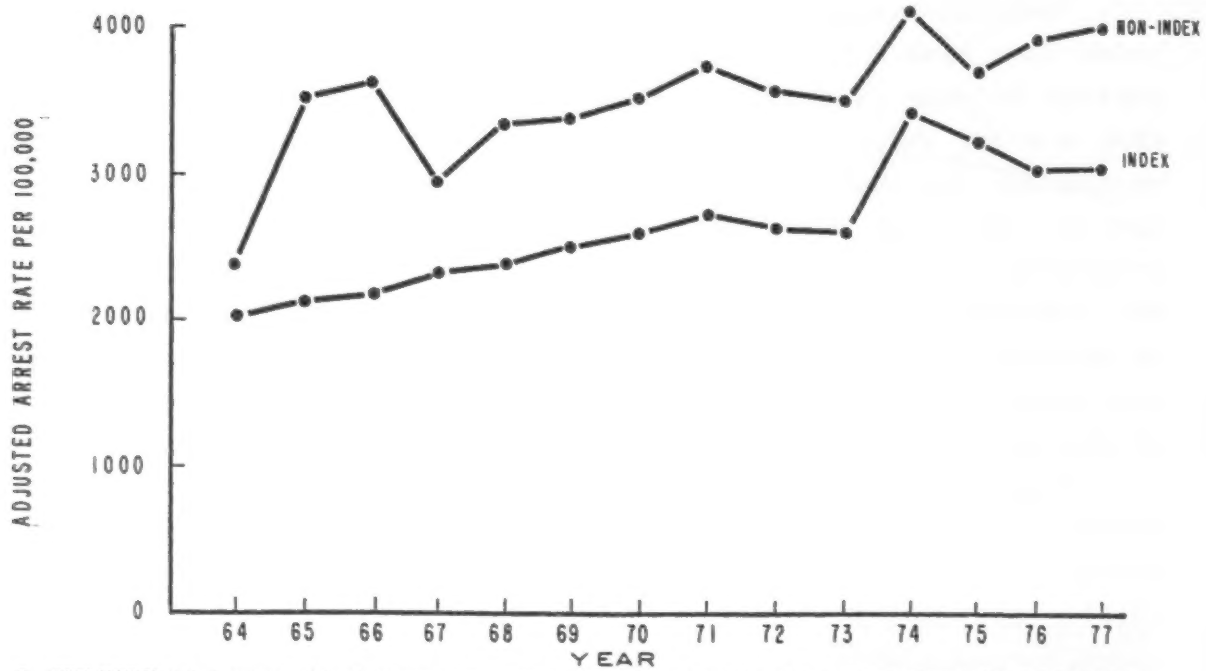
*All arrest rates presented in this chapter have been "adjusted" according to the procedures outlined in Appendix C, pp. (304-306).

**The pronounced rate increases apparent for combined and individual serious offenses in 1974 may partially be an artifact of the adjustments which were made to compensate for changes in jurisdictions reporting to UCR (see Appendix C, pp. 304-306).



* - INDEX ARRESTS INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
** - NON-INDEX ARRESTS INCLUDE OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS CRIMES, AND ALL OTHER CRIMINAL OFFENSES

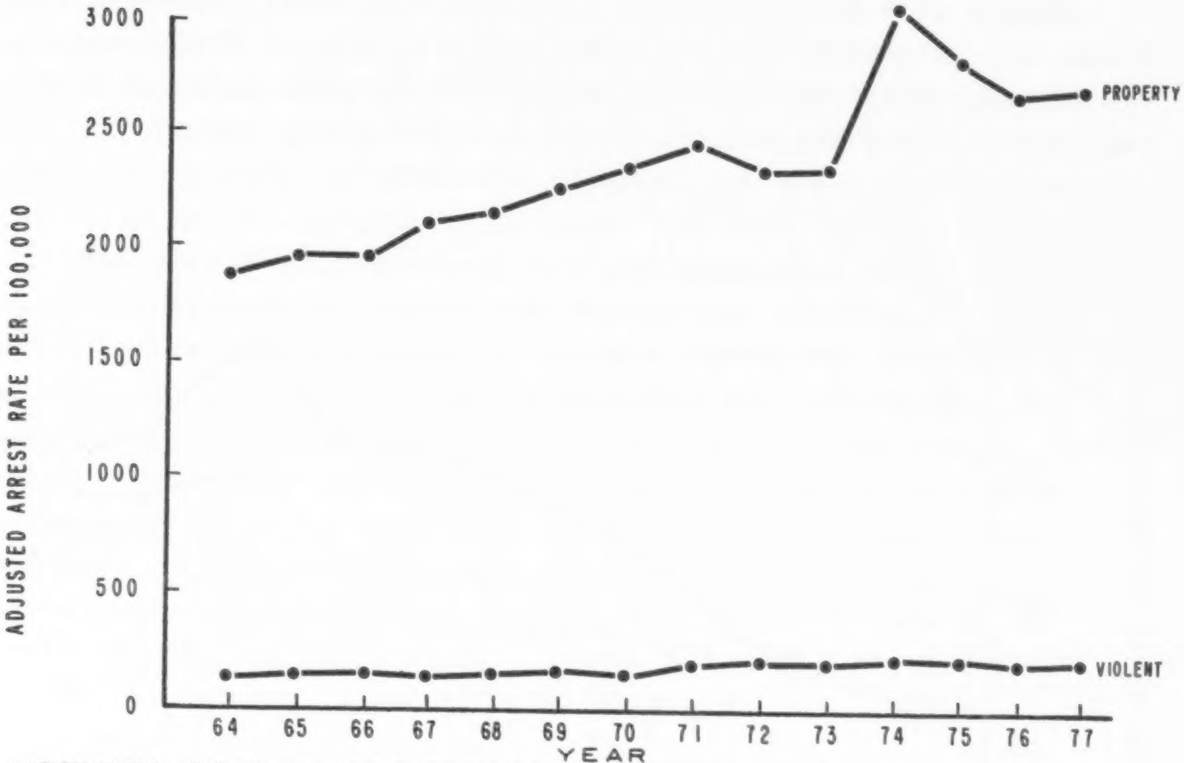
ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR INDEX* AND NON-INDEX** OFFENSES: AGES 11-17 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-3, P. 349

FIGURE II-6

A comparison is made between the percent of arrests for index crimes involving violent offenses versus those that involve property offenses. Violent arrests accounted for 7 percent of the juvenile index arrests in 1964, compared with 10 percent in 1976. Most of this increase took place during the 1960's, after which time the proportion of property to violent arrests stabilized at about 9 to 1. It appears, therefore, that juveniles have consistently been arrested for substantially more property crimes than crimes of violence.

Figure II-7 (p. 85) depicts the arrest rates for violent and property crimes. It is obvious that violent arrest rates have consistently been at a much lower level than have property arrest



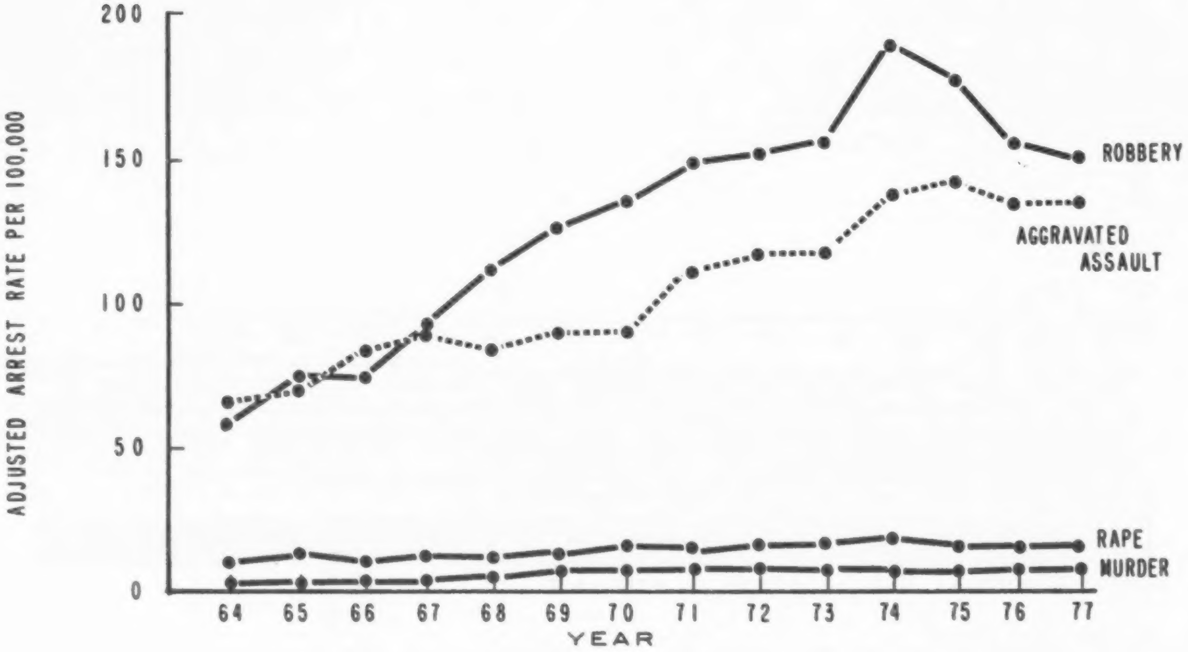
* VIOLENT ARRESTS INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT
** PROPERTY ARRESTS INCLUDE BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR INDEX VIOLENT* AND PROPERTY** OFFENSES: AGES 11-17 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-4, P. 351 FIGURE II-7

rates. What is less obvious, though, is the rate of increase that each has experienced. Violent rates are relatively stable during the 1960's, compared with more dramatic increases in property rates during that time. During the 1970's, however, property offenses "peaked," then began to decline (see Appendix E, Table E-4, p. 316).

Figure II-8 below presents rates for individual violent crimes. Rates for rape and murder are quite low and stable. Murder arrests did increase until about 1972, and rape until 1974, but both have remained at approximately the same level since that time.* (See Appendix E, Table E-5, p. 317).



ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR INDIVIDUAL VIOLENT OFFENSES: AGES 11-17 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-5, P.353 FIGURE II-8

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*A certain amount of caution must be exercised when interpreting minor rate changes, since the data upon which they are based may not be refined enough to accurately depict minor shifts. Computational methods which reduce the accuracy of these rates include: (1) use of census data which is compiled for one point during the year (e.g., a month), as a base for rate of arrest frequencies which are counted throughout the year; and (2) rounding off of rates to whole numbers, so that 12.4 becomes "12" or 12.5 becomes "13"--thus artificially inflating or reducing the difference between rates.

Aggravated assault and robbery account for over 90 percent of all arrests for violent crimes during every year from 1964 to 1976. The difference in rate change between aggravated assault and robbery for this period can be typified by various divergences, although the more recent 1970's suggest that the gap between the two offenses is closing.

Table II-3 below presents the percent change in adjusted rates for aggravated assault and robbery for selected years. Robbery experienced a dramatic increase during the latter part of the 1960's, and then began to moderate and even decline in the 1970's. Aggravated assault reflects a different trend. Those rates have experienced constant increases throughout this time period, except for a very slight decline in recent years (see Appendix E, Table E-6, p. 318). If this trend continues, arrest rates for aggravated assault may surpass robbery by the early 1980's, and may therefore become a crime of major concern (based upon arrest rates) at some later date.

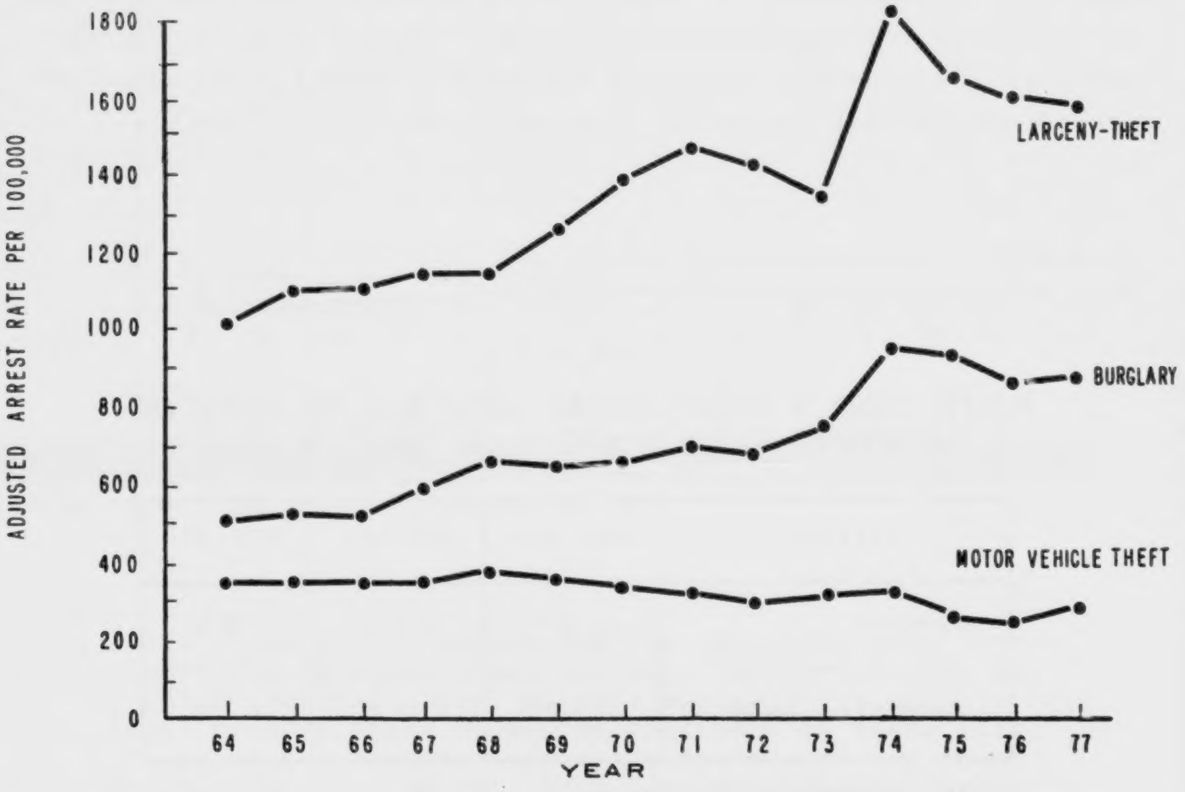
TABLE II-3

PERCENT CHANGE IN ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR ROBBERY AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT: AGES 11-17, SELECTED YEARS

OFFENSE	1964 - 1970	1970 - 1977	1975 - 1977
ROBBERY	+131%	+10%	-14%
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	+48%	+42%	-4%

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-6.

Arrest rates for individual property crimes are presented in Figure II-9 below. Motor vehicle theft is found to be the only index offense whose arrest rates have declined substantially overall. The minor increases which occurred during the 1960's are far outweighed by the downward trend in the past decade. Unlike motor vehicle theft, burglary and larceny-theft are both characterized by upward trends over the 14-year period. Between 1964 and 1977, burglary has risen by 71 percent and larceny-theft by 56 percent (see Appendix E, Table E-7, p. 319). The recent decline in rates for these two offenses is difficult to assess for several reasons. As noted earlier (pp. 82-83), the rate adjustments that were used to counteract underreporting of arrests



ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY OFFENSES: AGES 11-17 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-7, P. 357

FIGURE II-9

to UCR may, in fact, overestimate the true rates for certain years. Also, a change in UCR's definition of larceny-theft which occurred in 1973 may have artificially inflated arrest rates after that time.* It can only be concluded tentatively that arrest rates for both larceny-theft and burglary are beginning to subside, but more substantial proof must await findings in the coming years.

Discussion

Various researchers have attempted to predict future levels of serious juvenile crime. Such an endeavor is difficult, at the very least, due to the variety of "unpredictable" events which can affect future trends (21, pp. 39-41). But barring obvious difficulties, two major factors are considered when making projections regarding levels of crime in the next decade: population of juveniles aged 11 to 17, and arrest rates of juveniles from 1964 to 1977.

The foregoing analysis of juvenile crime makes one preliminary point clear; namely, that an estimate of future trends in juvenile crime must deal with individual offenses in making future projections. Even the composite measures of "violent" and "property" crime disguise many different kinds of conclusions regarding individual offenses.

Arrest rates for every index offense have shown downward trends in the past few years, but the extent to which they have declined and the relationship of that decline to previous years varies. Motor vehicle theft shows the clearest decrease of any index offense. Juveniles have been moving away from theft of cars for at least ten years, as suggested by declining arrest rates. Arrest rates for both murder and rape are very low, and have stabilized. The significance of the remaining four offenses is assessed along two lines: the absolute magnitude

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*The classification "Larceny over $50" became "Total Larceny-Theft" as of 1973. Since this reclassification incorporates more incidents, the arrest rates would presumably be artificially increased.

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of their arrest rates, and the 14-year arrest trends. Burglary and larceny-theft are definitely "high volume" crimes, accounting for approximately 80 percent of all juvenile arrests for index offenses in 1977. Although burglary appears to have declined slightly in the past few years, it is postulated based on past trends and gradual increases in the arrest rate, that juvenile involvement in this offense will continue to rise in future years. Larceny-theft, on the other hand, reflects a greater decline in the past few years as well as lower rates of increase from 1970 to 1977 compared with the 1960's.

Of all the index offenses, robbery shows the greatest change in arrest rate trends in recent years as compared with the 1960's. The arrest rate for juvenile robbery increased dramatically from 1964 to 1970, but then began to moderate and decline. There is every indication that this decline will continue in future years. Aggravated assault has also declined slightly, but the overall trend is one of increase.

Based on these findings, it might be concluded that different violent or property offenses represent different implications towards future serious juvenile crime. Based on a high volume and gradually, but steadily increasing arrest rate, burglary would be expected to be of future importance. Larceny-theft, although declining somewhat, is presently at such a high level of arrest rate that it will continue to constitute a major problem at least in the near future. Therefore, although not all larceny or burglary incidents are "serious" based on the Sellin-Wolfgang Scale, their high volume constitutes a crime problem of significant importance. Aggravated assault, although at a low rate relative to the property crimes, is considered serious due to its threat of physical harm to the victim and to its moderate rate increases. Robbery can be depicted according to its relatively low arrest rate, and the moderating arrest trends in the 1970's. Motor vehicle theft, murder, and rape might also be of lesser concern due to the previously mentioned reasons.

The emphasis on burglary and the shift away from robbery and larceny-theft would indicate that juveniles continue to be motivated by material gain. Recent trends indicate a continued emphasis on crime patterns which do not involve direct contact with the victim (burglary) and a concomitant shift away from victim confrontation (robbery and larceny-theft).

HOW MUCH SERIOUS CRIME IS COMMITTED BY JUVENILES IN RELATION TO OTHER AGE GROUPS?

The importance of serious crime attributed to juveniles may or may not be of special significance. One way of assessing its significance is to compare index crime for different age groups, both now and over time. The allocation of money emphasizing adult or juvenile areas might consider the relative weight of crime being and becoming the province of the young or older segments of the population.

It is illustrative to compare juvenile arrests for violent or property offenses to all arrests for a criminal offense.* Such comparisons give some indication of the overall impact of juvenile incidents. For example, in 1977, less than 1 percent (81,368) of all criminal arrests reported to UCR were arrests of juveniles for a violent crime (111, p. 180). Recent hearings conducted by the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency determined that "arrests for violent crime represent only a minute percentage of all juvenile arrests" (117, p. 258). Although based on 1975 data, this statement supports the findings of 1977 arrest statistics. Likewise, juveniles were arrested for 737,299 property crimes, 8.4 percent of the total number of all criminal arrests (111, p. 180). These small percentages, particularly for violent offenses, indicate that in terms of relative frequency, juvenile arrests for index crimes constitute a minor portion of the arrests made by law enforcement agencies.

Figure II-10 (p. 92) presents the proportions of arrests for index and non-index offenses to the total number of arrests (based upon 1977 UCR statistics) by age group.* Proportionately speaking, juvenile arrests (ages 11-17) are more heavily weighted towards index crimes than arrests of either young adults (ages 18-20) or adults (ages 21-64). It is interesting to note that the nature of these arrests reported for each age group varies considerably (see Figure II-11, below). While only about 10 percent of all juvenile arrests for index crimes are for a violent offense, about 29 percent of the adult arrests and 19 percent of the young adult arrests for index crimes involve violent offenses. Thus, although juveniles are more inclined towards index offenses than are the other age groups, these offenses more often involve property than violent crime (111, pp. 180-181). This indicates that the offenses for which juveniles are arrested are less serious than those of the young adults and adults.

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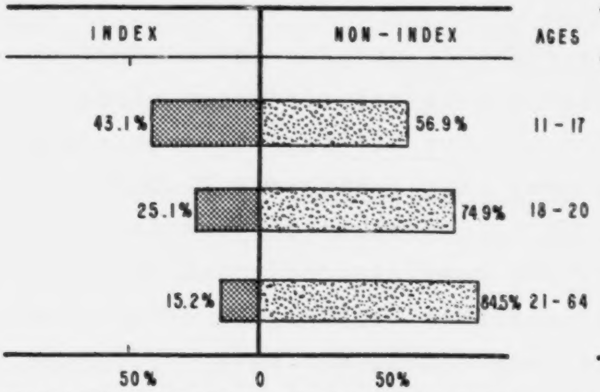
*Criminal offenses exclude the UCR categories of "curfew and loitering law violations" and "runaways," which are classified as status offenses.

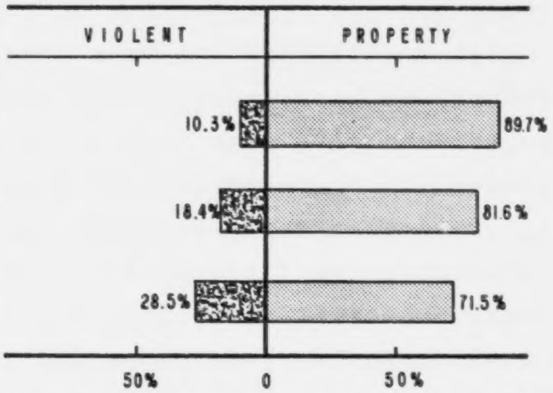


*INDEX ARRESTS INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

**NON-INDEX ARRESTS INCLUDE OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS CRIMES, AND ALL OTHER CRIMINAL OFFENSES

PROPORTIONS OF ARRESTS FOR INDEX * AND NON-INDEX ** TO TOTAL ARRESTS, AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64, FOR 1977

FIGURE II-10



*VIOLENT ARRESTS INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

**PROPERTY ARRESTS INCLUDE BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

PROPORTIONS OF ARRESTS FOR VIOLENT* AND PROPERTY** TO TOTAL ARRESTS FOR INDEX OFFENSES, AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64, FOR 1977

FIGURE II-11

SOURCES: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLES E-8 AND E-9, PP. 359-361

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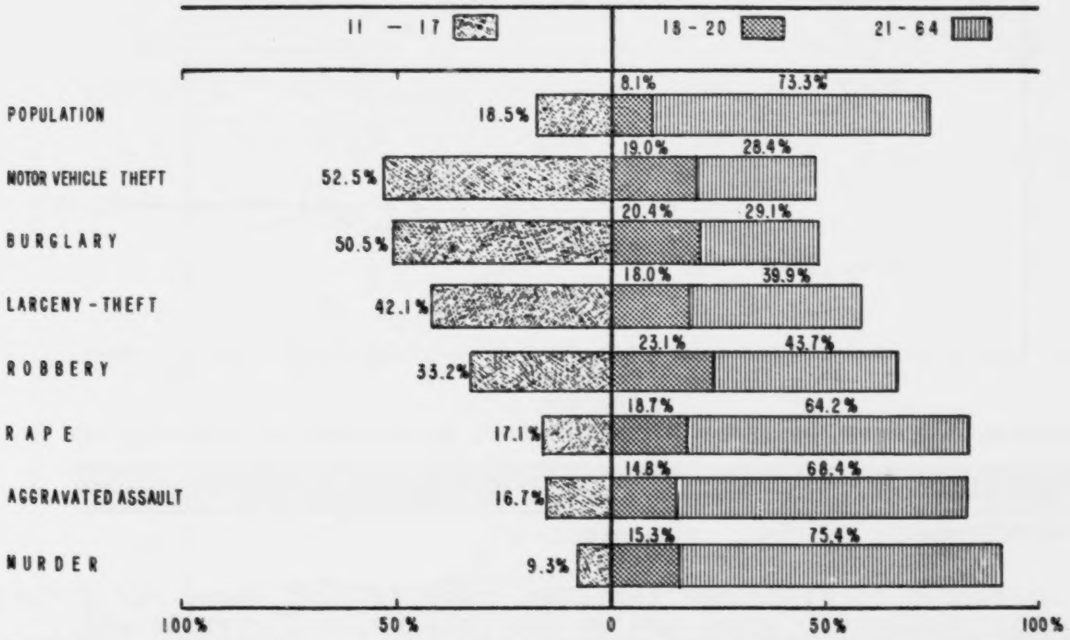
*Several descriptive measures are employed in comparing juvenile, young adult, and adult crime. The first three are based only upon UCR arrest frequencies: (1) proportions of individual offenses/offense groups to total crime committed by each age group; (2) relative contribution of each age group to different offenses; and (3) median age, which describes the middle value in the total distribution of arrest ages for each serious offense. Finally, arrest rates are computed based upon UCR arrests and census data, thus providing a measure of trends for each age group that are not biased by population shifts.

Figure II-12 (below) depicts the percentages of 1977 arrests for individual index offenses which are attributed to juveniles, young adults, and adults, compared with their respective population proportions. Juveniles appear to be "overrepresented" in motor vehicle theft, burglary, larceny-theft, and robbery. Only one of these is classified as "violent" (robbery), while all the others are property crimes. The juveniles are slightly underrepresented in rape and aggravated assault, and contribute proportionally very little to total murder arrests. It is of interest that adults contribute the most to those arrest categories in which juveniles are least involved. For example, adults show the highest percent involvement in murder, aggravated assault, and rape, all of which are violent offenses, with much less of a contribution to arrests for the other



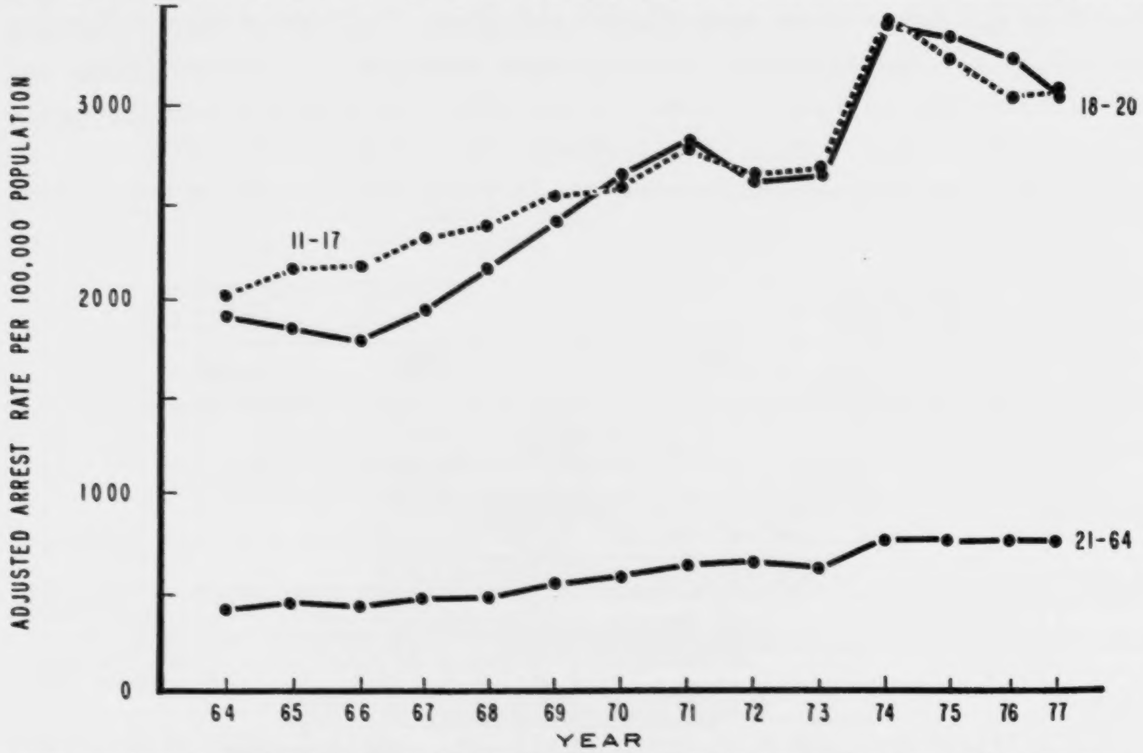
PERCENT OF NATIONAL ARRESTS FOR INDIVIDUAL INDEX OFFENSES ATTRIBUTED TO AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64, COMPARED WITH PERCENT OF POPULATION, FOR 1977

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-10, P. 363

FIGURE II-12

four offenses. On the other hand, young adults are relatively overrepresented in every offense category, with the greatest proportions for robbery and burglary* (see Appendix E, Table E-10, p. 322).

Figures II-13 (below), II-14 (p. 95) and II-15 (p. 96) present arrest rates (1964 to 1977) for index, violent, and property offenses. Several points are notable in comparing juveniles, young adults, and adults for these offense groups. For index offenses combined (Figure II-13), juvenile and young adult arrest rates show similar



**INDEX ARRESTS INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR INDEX** OFFENSES: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964 - 77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-11, P 3[illegible]

FIGURE II-13

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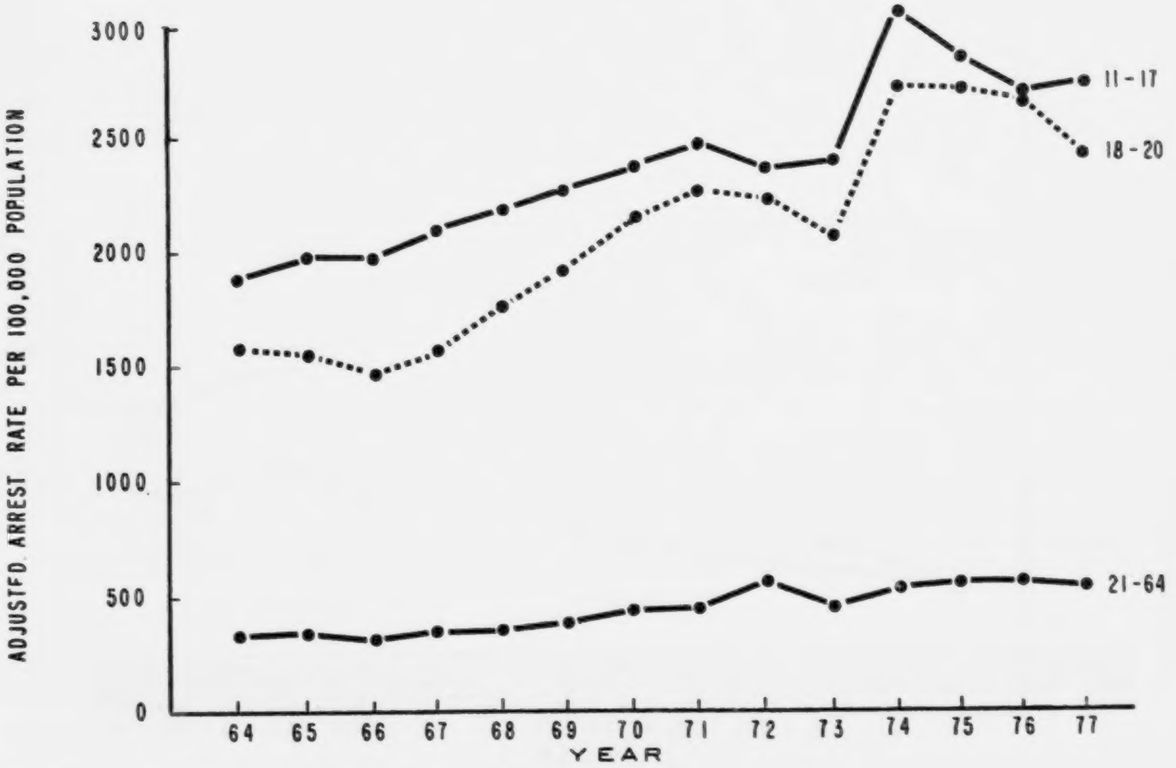
*The reader is cautioned that the comparison of these age groups is somewhat deceptive, since two of the categories (juvenile and adult) include many people who are not likely to be involved in crime, due to their relatively young or old age. Therefore, when dividing frequency by population for those age groups, the resulting rate may be underestimated. Contrarily, the remaining category (young adult) is composed of only three single age years (18,19, and 20), all of which are susceptible to, and capable of, involvement in serious crime. Therefore, the young adults may appear to be more "crime prone" relative to other ages, than is actually the case.

volumes and trends, although fluctuating relative to each other during the time period 1964 to 1977. The adult rates are consistently low, remaining at a rate which is approximately one-fourth that of juveniles and young adults. Looking only at rates for the property component of index offenses (Figure II-14 below), a dissimilarity between the two youthful age groups appears: juveniles have a higher arrest rate than the 18- to 20-year-olds. This "dominance" of juveniles in property crime, as reflected in arrest rates, does not appear to be a recent phenomena. But, the gap between property arrest rates for juveniles and young adults appears to be closing. If this trend continues, juveniles may no longer dominate property arrest rates, indicating that 18- to 20-year-olds may become as involved in property crimes as juvenile-age youth. The adult arrest rates for property offenses have increased as much



*INDEX PROPERTY ARRESTS INCLUDE BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

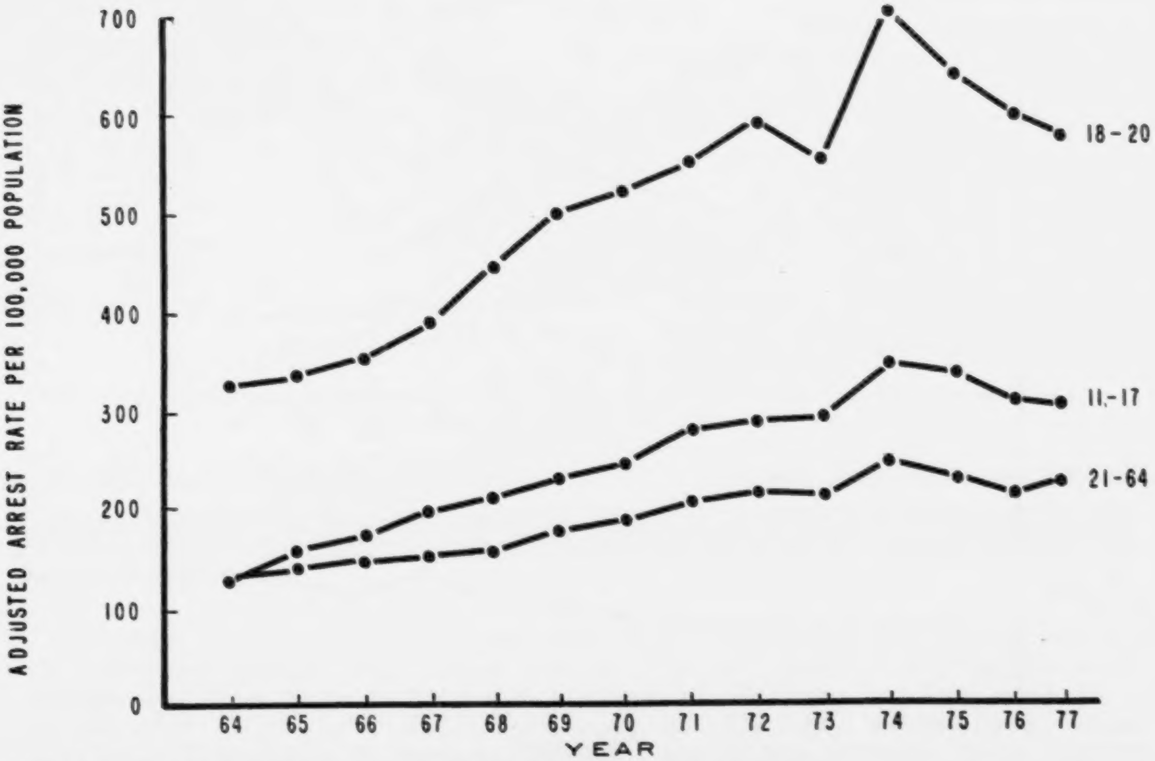
ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-12, P.367

FIGURE II-14

as the youth rates, but due to their relatively low base level these increases do not seem as dramatic (see Appendix E, Tables E-12 p. 324, and E-13, p. 325, for sources). Therefore, the youthful age groups, and particularly juveniles, seem to pose the greatest threat to society in terms of index property crimes.

For violent offenses (Figure II-15 below), the discrepancy between juvenile and adult arrest rates is not as great as for property crimes. For example, in 1977, adults had an arrest rate of 2 per 1,000, compared with only 3 per 1,000 for juveniles. This difference is relatively minor in comparison to young adults, whose rates are approximately twice as high as either juveniles or adults. Therefore, while both youthful age groups are heavily involved in index property crimes, only young adults could be considered to "dominate" in violent crime (see Appendix E, Table E-13, p. 325).



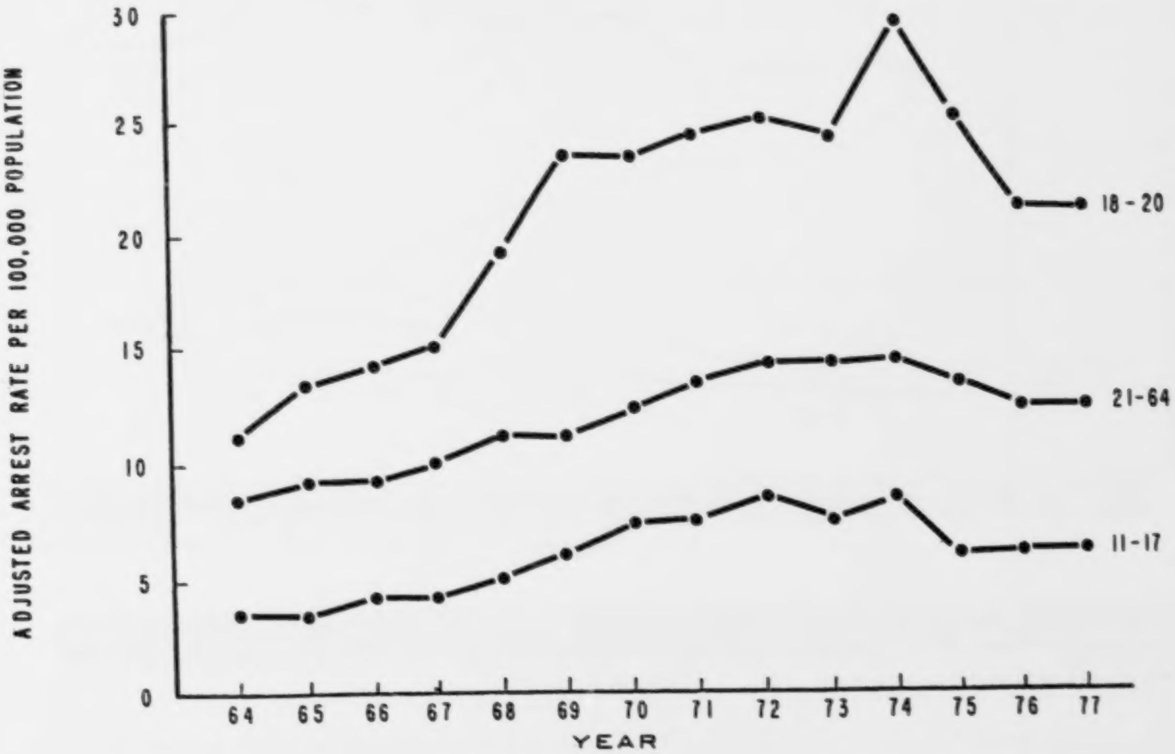
* VIOLENT ARRESTS INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR VIOLENT* OFFENSES: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-13, P. 369

FIGURE II - 15

Figures II-16 (below), II-17 (p. 98), II-18 (p. 99), and II-19 (p. 100) present arrest rates for individual violent offenses for each age group (see Appendix E, Tables E-14, E-15, E-16, and E-17, pp. 326-329 for sources). The murder arrest rate for juveniles is considerably lower than for either young adults or adults. Also, the median age for this offense is higher than any other index offense, which indicates the higher arrest frequencies and rates among older age groups.* Since 1970, the general trend for all three age groups has been one of stabilization and decline: the 1977 rates show slight decreases over 1970. Median age values for 1968, 1972, and 1976 reflect this same stability.



ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR MURDER: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-14, P.371

FIGURE II-16

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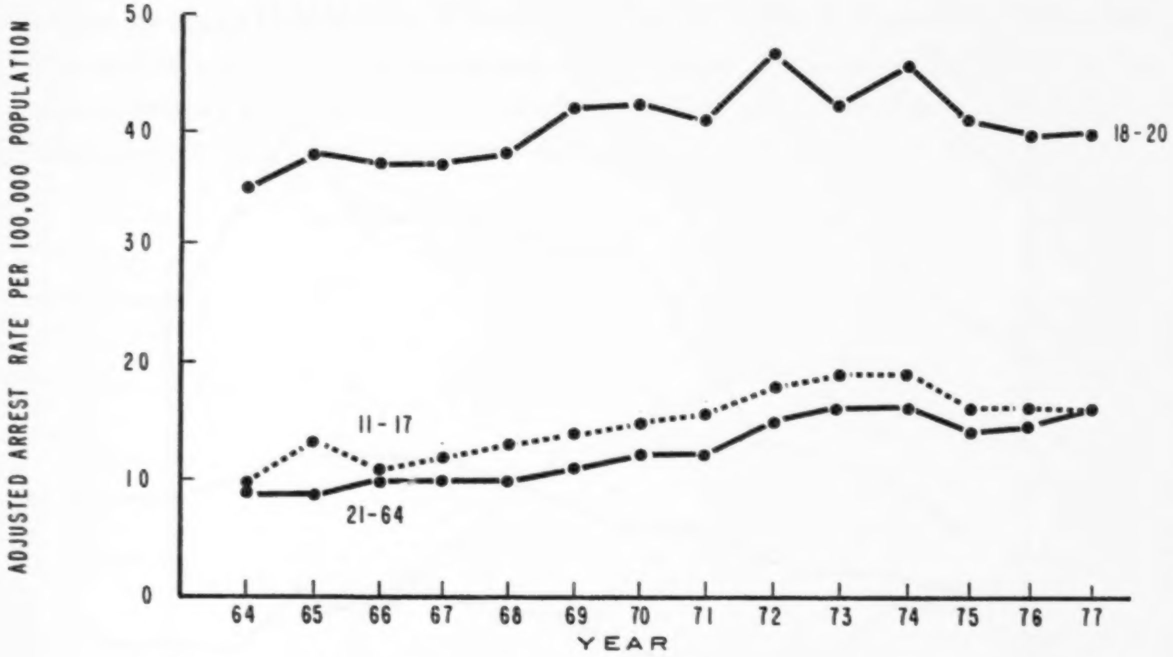
*The reader is referred to Table II-4 (p.101) for all median age values discussed in the narrative.

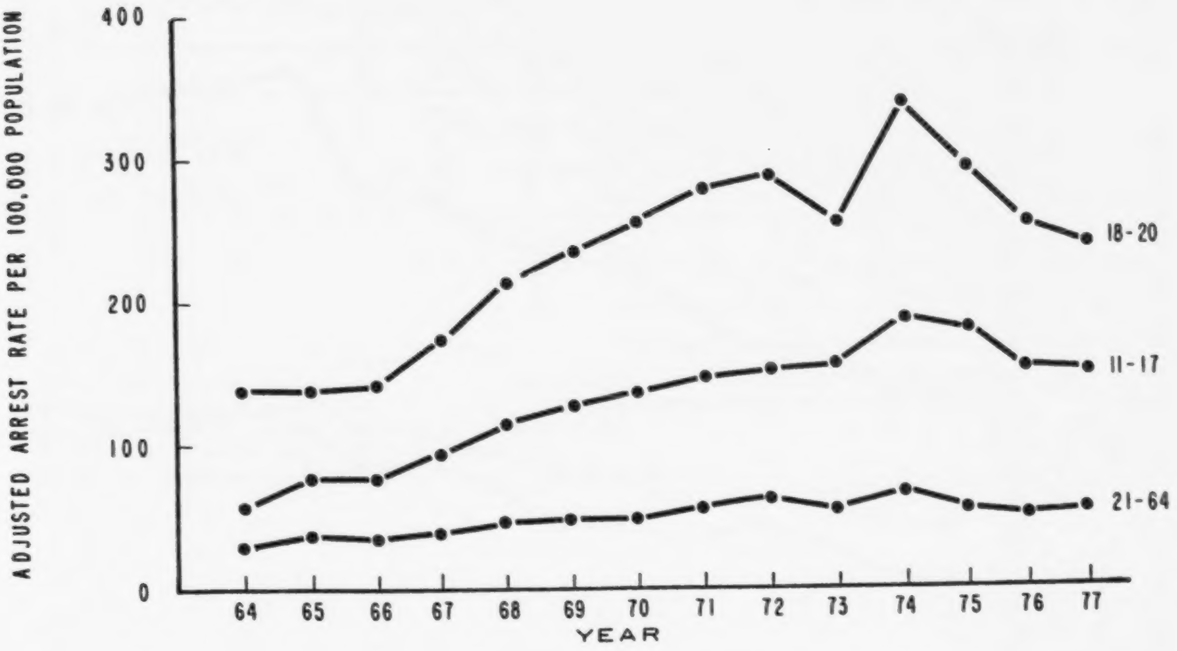
According to Figure II-17 (below), the arrest rates for rape are low for juveniles and adults, while young adults' rates are almost three times as high. All three rate lines show minor increases from 1964 to 1977, but the patterns occurring in the 1970's vary. While young adults have declined from their 1972 "peak," adult rates have continued to increase, and juvenile rates have stabilized.



ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR RAPE: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-15, P. 373 FIGURE II-17

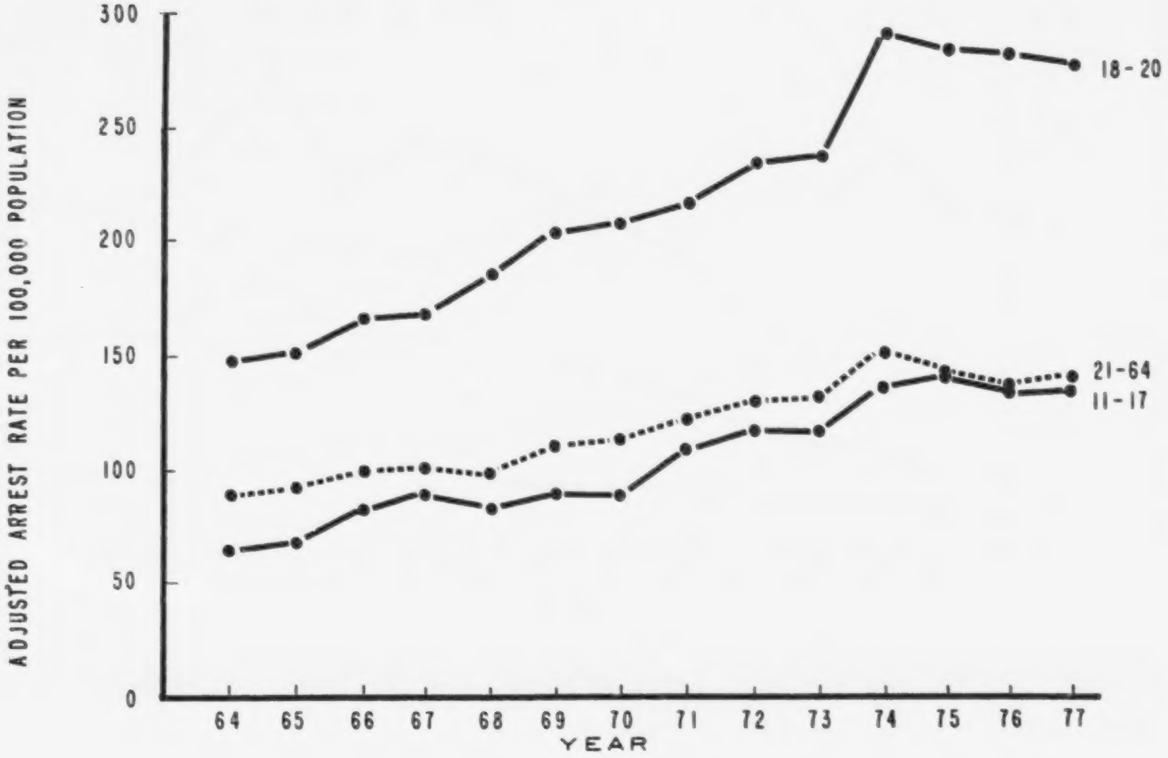
In contrast to the low arrest rates for murder and rape, robbery and aggravated assault (Figures II-18 and II-19) are the most common violent offenses among all age groups. Arrest rates indicate that juveniles are less inclined towards robbery than young adults, but more so than adults. This relationship holds true throughout the time period 1964 to 1977, although juvenile rates have increased more rapidly than the older age groups. The decrease in median age of arrest for robbery (Table II-4, p. 101) reflects the increased juvenile arrest frequencies and, concurrently, juvenile arrest rates.



ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR ROBBERY: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-16, P. 375 FIGURE II-18

For the offense of aggravated assault (Figure II-19), young adult arrest rates are distinctly higher than juveniles and adults, whose rates are approximately the same in 1977. All three age groups show upward trends throughout this time period, although juvenile rates are increasing the most rapidly, followed by young adults and then adults. Again, an examination of the median age (Table II-4, p. 101) for this offense substantiates findings based on arrest rates. The median age is relatively high for aggravated assault (reflecting involvement of older age groups which is generaly higher than for juveniles), but is decreasing from 1964 to 1976 (reflecting greater increases in juvenile and young adult involvement through time).



ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR AGGRAVATED ASSAULT: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-17.

FIGURE II-19

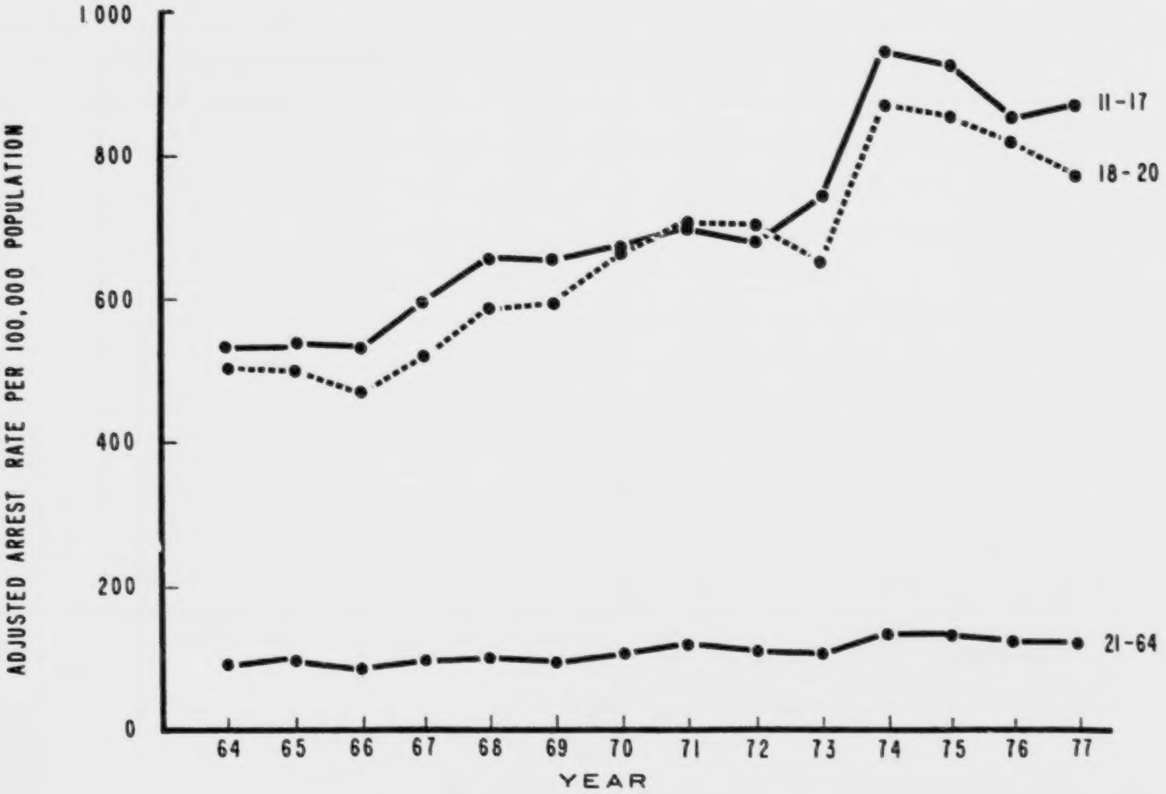
TABLE II-4

MEDIAN TOTAL* AGE FOR DIFFERENT INDEX OFFENSE CLASSIFICATIONS (1964-76) ALL AGES

	1964	1968	1972	1976
INDEX(1)	17.7	17.7	18.6	18.8
NON-INDEX(2)	36.4	33.2	31.0	31.4
VIOLENT(3)	31.6	27.8	28.1	27.9
MURDER	37.5	35.5	35.1	35.3
RAPE	27.8	25.7	28.9	30.2
ROBBERY	22.6	19.8	19.9	19.7
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	35.1	33.2	32.8	32.2
INDEX PROPERTY (4)	16.9	16.8	18.4	18.1
BURGLARY	17.3	16.9	17.4	17.4
LARCENY-THEFT	16.9	17.0	17.5	18.6
MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	16.4	16.6	17.2	17.3

* - INCLUDES BOTH JUVENILE AND ADULT POPULATIONS
(1) - CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
(2) - OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS CRIMES, AND ALL OTHER OFFENSES
(3) - CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT
(4) - BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
SOURCES: 98, PP. 108-109; 102, PP. 115-116; 106, PP. 126-127; 110, PP. 181-182

Figures II-20 (p. 102), II-21 (p. 103), and II-22 (p. 114) present adjusted arrest rates for individual property offenses (see Appendix E, Tables E-18, E-19, and E-20, pp. 330-332 for sources). Arrest rates for burglary (Figure II-20) suggest that juvenile and young adult involvement in this offense are quite similar. The two have fluctuated relative to each other throughout this time period, with juveniles remaining at a slightly higher level than young adults in recent years. The adult arrest rates for burglary show very little change since 1964, and are at a much lower level than the youthful age groups.

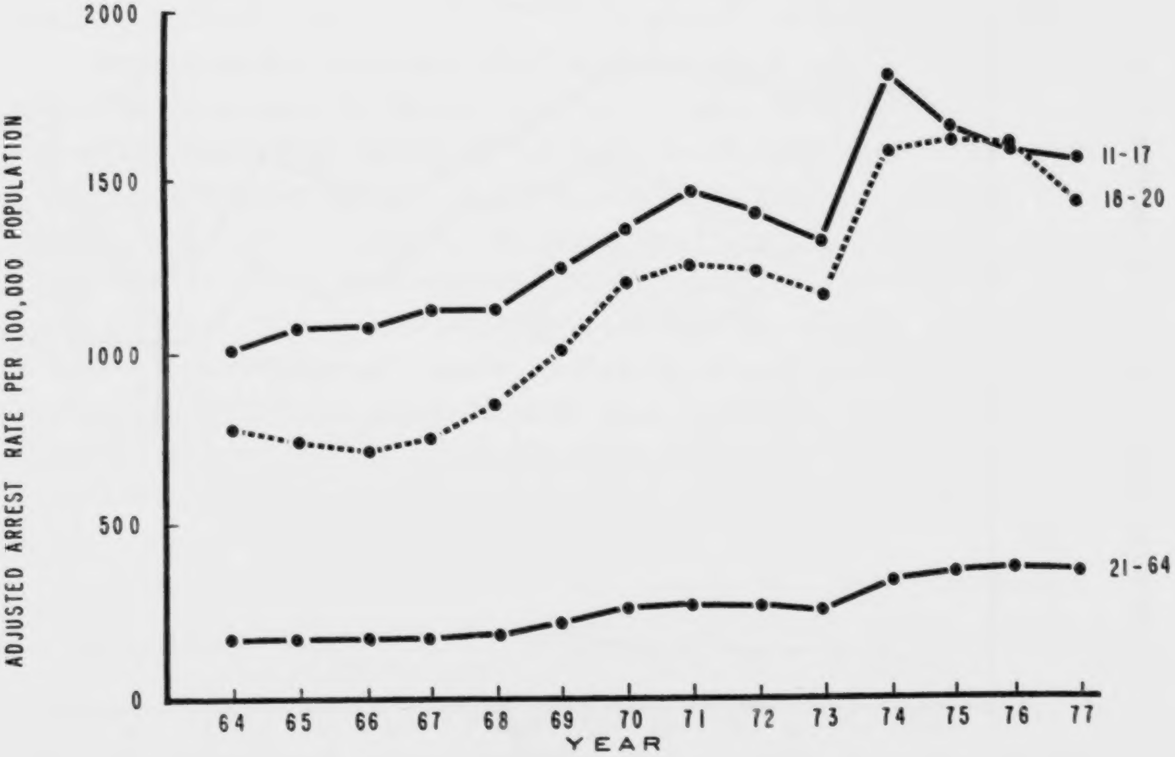


ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR BURGLARY: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-18

FIGURE II-20

Referring to Figure II-21, the arrest rate for larceny-theft has increased between 1964 and 1977 for all three age groups. However, the juvenile rate is not increasing as rapidly as either adults or young adults, and has shown a greater decline in recent years than the older groups. The median age for this offense has increased from 16.9 in 1964 to 18.6 in 1976 (Table II-4, p.101) further substantiating reduced involvement of juveniles.

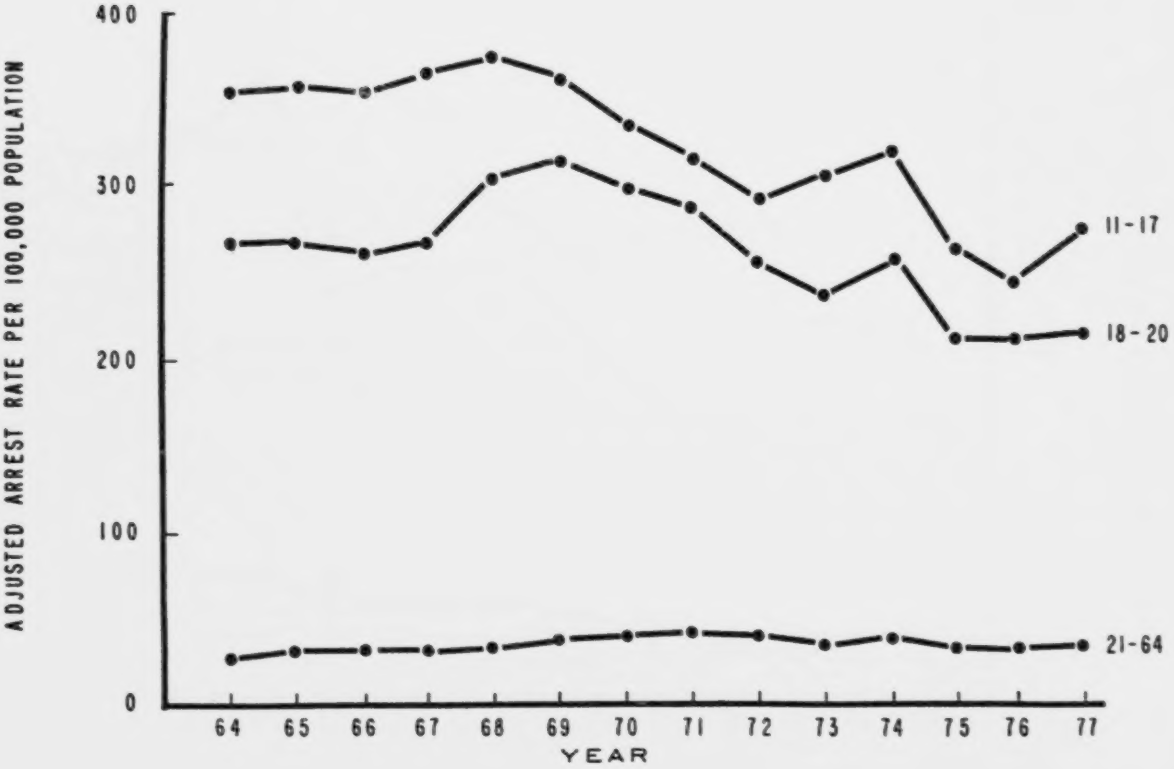


ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR LARCENY-THEFT: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-19

FIGURE II-21

Motor vehicle theft (Figure II-22) can be interpreted in a way unlike the other index offenses: the juvenile and young adult rates have declined from their "peak" values in the late 1960's, while adult rates have stabilized. The median age for this offense has also increased reflecting the lesser involvement of youth.



ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-20

FIGURE II-22

Discussion

Comparison of arrest rates for juveniles (11-17), young adults (18-20), and adults (21-64) allows some speculation whether juvenile crime trends are an isolated occurrence, or whether they coincide with trends occuring across all age groups. Two general findings emerge from this section. First, arrest rates for every index offense are stabilizing or declining for juveniles, young adults, and adults in recent years. The magnitude of this decline varies among age groups and across specific offense types. Second, each age group can be characterized by the particular offense type in which they are the most heavily involved, relative to other age groups.

Arrest rates indicate that both youthful age groups are much more inclined towards index property crimes than are adults. In the past, juveniles could be considered to "dominate" this offense index, but recent trends indicate that young adults are reaching arrest rate levels similar to juveniles. For the violent crimes, young adults have consistently shown a greater involvement than juveniles or adults. While arrest rates for violent and property offenses have remained fairly stable in recent years for the adult group, juveniles and young adults have both declined from their "peak" rates in 1974. Since the base level of adult arrest rates is relatively low, it is unlikely that their involvement will reach a level comparable to youth in future years.

Individual index offenses show trends that are similar to the aggregate categories of violent and property crime. Young adults have the highest arrest rates for each of the four violent offenses. Analyses conducted by Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis in the late 1950's and 1960's support this finding (60, pp. 80-85). Although their age group incorporated 18 through 24-year-olds, they still concluded that these "young adults" were more inclined towards urban crimes of violence than were other age groups. The present analysis of arrest rates indicates that juveniles are least inclined towards those violent offenses which involve direct contact with the victim; i.e., murder, rape, and aggravated assault. Juveniles are still less involved in robbery than are young adults, but this offense is the most common violent crime among juveniles. Overall trends indicate that juvenile arrest rates are increasing more rapidly for robbery and aggravated assault than are rates for older age groups, but have stabilized for murder and rape.

Between 1964 and 1977, juveniles and young adults show similar arrest rates and trends for burglary. They are at a level which is considerably higher than the adults, whose rates have remained fairly constant. For larceny-theft, young adults and juveniles again have higher arrest rates than adults. All three age groups show overall increases from 1964 to 1977, but the juvenile rate is not increasing as rapidly as either adults or young adults and has declined more in recent years than the older groups. Finally, the juvenile and young adult motor vehicle theft rates have declined from their "peak values" in the late 1960's, while adult rates have stabilized.

An examination of these findings leads to the conclusion that juveniles are more inclined towards crimes of "material gain," adults towards crimes of "physical attack," and young adults do not appear to specialize at all, thus suggesting that young adulthood may be a "crime transition" period.

CONCLUSIONS

This section attempted to assess the extent to which current literature and the accompanying secondary analysis could answer the following questions:

- How much serious crime is committed by juveniles?
- Is serious crime among juveniles increasing? and,
- How much serious crime is committed by juveniles in relation to other age groups?

Ideally, the best answer to these questions would involve the determination of total incidents known and unknown to police attributable to juveniles (and other age groups) currently and over a period of time. Lack of an estimate of the "true amount" of crime requires turning to alternate sources of information. Major alternate sources might be "official" sources such as police offense and arrest statistics, and potentially court and corrections data. Corrections data, representing a major penetration into the system, are also the furthest removed from the initial criminal incidents and those responsible for the incidents. For this reason, such information was not seriously considered. Court and related disposition data would, on the other hand, provide some idea of who the adjudicated offenders are, but says little about the number of incidents attributable to those offenders, or about offenders who have been "funneled out" of the system. Also, court data would provide no insight into the unknown offender and the associated amount of "hidden crime." In the case of national court statistics, these problems matter little, since the existing Juvenile Court Statistics (30) fails to break down aggregate delinquency statistics by any measure (offense or otherwise) of seriousness. Finally, there is Uniform Crime Report offense and arrest data. Offense data was omitted immediately since offense counts cannot be linked with the age of those presumably responsible, therefore disallowing estimates of total volume attributable to juveniles. UCR arrest information, on the other hand, allows estimates of the frequency of juveniles arrested for each offense type, but allows no estimate of the total number of offenses attributable to those juveniles. Also, arrest statistics are not necessarily a good indicator of either "hidden crime" or those subsequently adjudicated as an "offender."

Alternate sources to official data suffer from different, but equally discouraging, problems. Victimization data present a different view of crime, but there is only the "perceived age of offender" by which estimates of serious juvenile crime can be obtained. These estimates are confined to "person" offenses where human recall is presumably reliable. Also, using such data, it is impossible to estimate the amount of index property crime attributable to juveniles. Self-report studies might ideally provide some estimate of "hidden crime" and those juveniles responsible. Unfortunately, as discussed in Appendix B (p. 272) most such studies rely upon sample sizes too small to permit justifiable serious crime extrapolations to the juvenile population at large.

After reviewing all major "national" data sources, the specific source permitting (relatively) the best estimates of serious juvenile crime is Uniform Crime Report arrest data. The requirements of this section and the entire report (i.e., national data permitting subdivision by age and a measure of seriousness) dictate that the present estimates of crime rely upon this information.

As stated earlier, a certain amount of caution must be exercised when using UCR index crimes as an indicator of serious crime. There are undoubtedly many incidents within the index crime categories which would not be considered serious based upon the Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scale. For example, petty theft or joyriding are classified by UCR as index crimes, but are certainly not "serious" according to the present definition. However, the unavailability of other sources of crime data necessitates the use of UCR with the qualification that the terms "index" and "serious" are not interchangeable. The former can only be used as a limited indicator of the latter.

As to whether arrest data is a reliable indicator of the number of offenses committed by juveniles, several issues must be considered. First, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (60, p. 33) plotted total offense and arrest rates for the years 1960 to 1967. A similar figure was plotted for 1964 to 1977 (Chapter V, pp. 232-233), suggesting that (clearance rates remaining stable) arrest rates are remaining steady while reported offenses are not. Unfortunately, when applying this to juveniles, another problem emerges. Since it is generally conceded that juveniles are more likely to be arrested in groups than adults, it is unclear how offenses possibly attributable to juveniles relate to numbers of arrests. If it is assumed that juveniles may be arrested in groups, but some amount of the reported offenses committed by juveniles will not be cleared by arrest, then it is difficult to determine how accurate a reflection of juvenile offenses are juvenile arrest statistics. Certainly, the following conclusions and discussion are dependent and limited by these "unknowns." However, since juveniles may be arrested in groups, and assuming the clearance rates for adults and juveniles are similar, then it might be assumed that the arrest rate for juveniles is closer to their hypothetical offense rate than the adult arrest rate would be to their offense rate.

Another issue possibly influencing arrest data as a reflection of offense data would involve the ebb and flow of gang and group involvement in crime. If, for example, it was shown that juvenile crime has increasingly become a function of group behavior, then arrest rates may increase partly because groups rather than individuals are increasingly becoming responsible for criminal acts. The effect of this upon arrest data as a measure of crime may be extremely significant here, since as noted in Appendix B (pp. 266-269) the use of arrest data permits an estimate of the number of juveniles who commit offenses. Apparent here is the fact that an alternate argument could be developed for the use of arrest data as the desired measure of serious juvenile crime. Being unable to answer these issues, one is again left with the result that arrest data is used simply because it is more suited to the purposes of this report than anything else currently available.

Using UCR arrest data, a variety of findings were noted regarding the three stated questions. Briefly these are:

- Using 1977 UCR data, it was noted that the four "violent" index crimes (murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault) constitute less than 5 percent of all juvenile arrests for a criminal offense. The four violent and the three index property offenses (burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft) combined constitute 43 percent of all juvenile arrests.

- Of all the seven index offenses, 82 percent of related arrests were accounted for by larceny-theft and burglary. When comparing the violent versus the property crimes, it was noted that the property crimes account for 90 percent of all 1977 juvenile arrests for an index offense.

- When comparing arrest rates for juveniles for the years 1964 through 1977, it was suggested that arrest rates for all index offenses are decreasing, but at various rates for different offenses.

- Juvenile arrest rates for the years 1964 to 1977 suggest that murder and forcible rape are stabilizing or declining during the 1970's. Robbery is decreasing, while aggravated assault is continuing to increase at a reduced pace.

- Juvenile burglary and larceny-theft arrest rates increased steadily from 1964 to 1974, while that associated with motor vehicle theft is decreasing.

- As noted in other studies, juvenile-age youth are arrested in proportionately greater numbers than young adults or adults for crimes against property. This is not true for the violent crimes, where adults were found to be most heavily represented in the crimes of murder, forcible rape, and aggravated assault. Youth, age 18-20, on the other hand, contribute substantially to arrest rates for all index offenses.
- Comparison of arrest rates for the three major age groups from 1969 to the present suggests that the violent crimes of murder and forcible rape are the province of the young adult. However, there are indications that the proportion of juveniles to other age groups arrested for crimes of aggravated assault and robbery are increasing, thus suggesting that these crimes are increasingly becoming the province of youth.
- While juveniles and young adults are continuing to be involved in the crimes of burglary and larceny-theft, there are indications (1964-1977) that youth are moving away from the theft of vehicles and more towards the theft from homes (burglary).

Most importantly, this chapter should conclude that the second topical questions, i.e., "Is serious crime among juveniles increasing?", be answered with a cautious "no." To the extent possible, UCR arrest rate information suggests a decrease in juvenile arrest rates for both the violent and property indexes. While admittedly recent (1974-75 to present), this general decrease may suggest additional future decreases of juvenile index crime. While it is too early to conclude that juvenile index crime may be steadily declining over the coming years, such a decrease is suggested by the preceding comparisons. Based on these findings, it is suggested that serious juvenile crime is also decreasing, and may continue to decrease in the future. As to the third topical question involving the relationship of juvenile arrest rates with other age groups, it could be noted that the commission of crime, as measured by arrest, changes with age. Also, it seems that increases and decreases of arrest rates are parallel for all age groups. However, this is secondary to the implication that arrest rates are stabilizing or declining for all age groups for all index offense types and, presumably, for the serious incidents within the index crimes.

While arrest rates suggest patterns of change when comparing the three age groups, it is important to assess change in arrest frequencies as well. Generally, a comparison of arrest frequencies, although not reported here, results in findings that are similar to those noted with rates; i.e., juvenile index crime is stabilizing or decreasing. This helps substantiate the major findings stemming from rate comparisons made in this chapter. Summarizing the trends of crime using arrest rates and frequencies as alternate measures of crime, it is concluded that juvenile index crime, and presumably serious crime, may not be as significant as in the early 1970's. Major implications of these findings have to do with: (1) the changing patterns of serious crime with age; and (2) the changing patterns of serious juvenile crime. Again, relying upon 1977 UCR arrest data as an indicator of crime, it was demonstrated that juveniles are heavily involved in crimes of "material gain," adults in crimes of personal confrontation or physical attack, and young adults are substantially represented in all major index crimes. The most obvious implication here is that crime preferences may change with age. Unfortunately, one problem here is that the probability of apprehension also decreases as a person gets older, which might help conclude this prematurely. There are also reasons to suspect that the violence and property indices constructed to more adequately measure a broadened definition of serious juvenile crime may not be adequate. Continued increases are noted in juvenile arrest rates for robbery and aggravated assault not accompanied by increases in murder and forcible rape. The property index, on the other hand, suggests that juveniles are stealing different kinds of property. There are indications that they are turning to theft from homes and businesses as opposed to theft of vehicles or direct theft from individuals.

In a recent paper, Zimring (131, pp. 49-50) discusses youth violence as a "leading indicator" of aggregate violence and suggests that the decline of the murder rate may be indicative of a general trend. Here, Zimring's reasoning can be taken a step further and questioned as to what extent juvenile involvement in the violent and index property crimes is indicative of future crime trends. While it is difficult to derive implications due to ambiguity of offense labels, this section suggests that juvenile-age youth are increasingly turning to crimes of material gain. While this result has been suggested by Miller (58, p. 76) as pertinent to gang behavior, it is suggested here that, generally, juvenile index crime may be moving in this direction.

Beneath the labels of the seven index crimes rest varieties of specific motives and interactions. However, it appears that the increase of juvenile robbery (much of which may be "less serious" or unarmed) rates, as well as those of burglary and larceny-theft, may all be motivated by the desire for material gain. The one offense that does not fit this picture is aggravated assault, which Zimring suggests "is both puzzling and important" (131, p. 21). While it is beyond the scope of this paper to delve into specific offense types, it appears that continued research in the varieties and types of aggravated assault should be further explored.

Finally, it is suggested that efforts be directed at applying alternate strategies to the studies of serious juvenile crime. Although the emphasis in this paper on violence certainly is related to entrenched conceptions of personal harm, arrest rates for burglary and larceny-theft suggest that "financial loss" should be considered a central feature of how seriousness is defined. The logic for including property offenses which result in large dollar losses stems from the Sellin-Wolfgang seriousness scale. While Zimring and other authors may confine their attention to the current and future picture of the rarer violent act, consideration of financial loss associated with property crime arrest rates suggest that (1) future juvenile research and policy orientations carefully weigh the extent to which violence should dominate a definition of seriousness; and (2) more precise attempts to identify changing patterns and thus motivations of the offenses robbery, larceny-theft, and burglary be undertaken. These issues should be further explored amidst what appears to be a stabilization and decline of serious juvenile crime, at least as measured by arrest statistics for index crimes.

CHAPTER III

THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION, CONTEXTS, AND SETTINGS OF SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME

INTRODUCTION

> These four cities make it very clear that the role of youth in the production of violent crime varies considerably from one city to another...national data give one a false impression that delinquency is a homogeneous phenomenon throughout the United States, when in reality such statistics hide a mass of regional variation that is seldom recognized and little understood (21, p. 35).
>
> Indeed, there may be no single "national" portrait of youth violence or any uniform set of trends that can be generalized across regions and different population groups. The ebb and flow of aggregated national totals may be reflecting a wide diversity of patterns and trends (131, p. 40).

These quotes suggest a logical next step in looking at serious juvenile crime. That is, any national picture of crime patterns can often "mask" interesting regional or local comparisons. Such comparisons may deal with the often discussed relationship between urban, suburban, and rural serious juvenile crime rates, or may look at subareas within these configurations such as individual States or counties. The Uniform Crime Reports provide data in its annual report--or through special request--on regional, State, urban-suburban-rural, or city crime events. Due to time and scope limitations, this assessment utilizes only information concerning regional and State frequencies. In addition, pertinent literature is discussed for further insight.

THE ISSUE OF URBANIZATION

It is commonly noted that the more serious crimes, whether committed by juveniles, youth, or adults, are concentrated in urban areas. Hoch, in an article entitled, "Factors in Urban

Crime" (Journal of Urban Economics, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 184) notes that there is a positive association between population size and rates of crime. Others, however [e.g., McLennan and McLennan (11, pp. 126-127)], have noted that this positive association is perfectly linear since some cities with high populations have low crime rates and vice versa. Unfortunately, most existing efforts in this area do not confine their attention to youth or juvenile crime, or more specifically, serious juvenile crime, and therefore are only remotely relevant here.

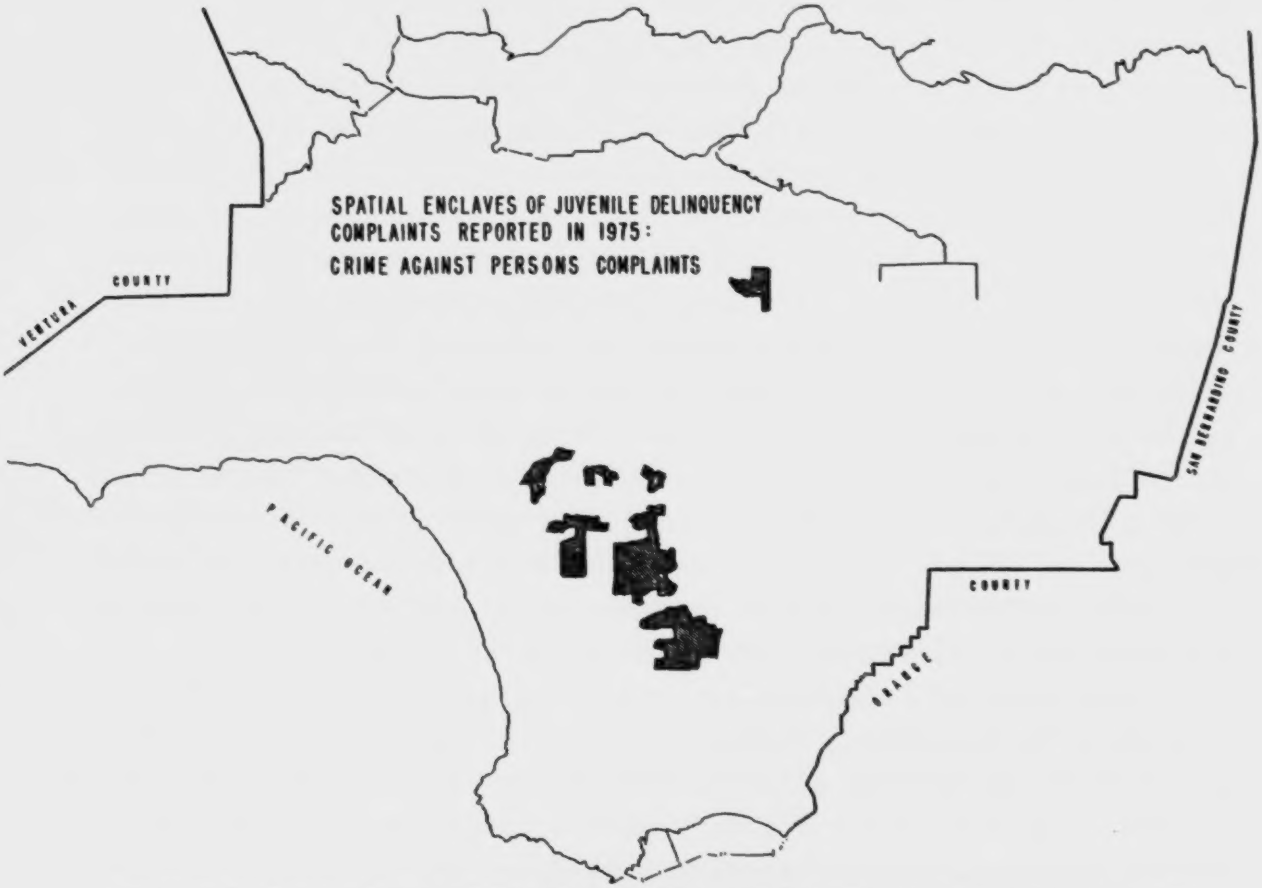
Current literature (60, 129, 131) suggests that violent youth crime (criminal homicide, forcible rape, aggravated assault, robbery) is far more concentrated in cities of population greater than 250,000. The ratio of arrests between urban and all other areas varies from three to one for homicide and two to one for aggravated assault (131, p. 26). While current studies (21, pp. 73-80) suggest that urban blacks are arrested at a far greater rate for violent offenses than whites, there is some indication (based upon official arrest statistics) that the gap between urban racial arrest rates may be closing.

Attempts to estimate the proportion of urban crime attributable to juveniles are noteworthy, not for the amount of current knowledge regarding the topic, but rather the problems and limitations inherent in making such comparisons. Apparently, the reason that so few studies have dealt with the topic is due in part to inadequate data available to undertake such comparisons. In his paper, "Crime, Demography, and Time in Five American Cities," Zimring (129, p. 2) notes that for at least one city the "raw data" was so poor as to "cast doubts" on all age-specific comparisons. These kinds of criticisms of official data probably have deterred what might be considered "refined analyses of crude data."

The topic of urbanization and serious juvenile crime is one from which other specific questions stem. For example, it would be interesting to further understand the relationship between age shifts, racial concentrations, and serious juvenile crime in urban areas. Although available data and special request functions are not adequate in answering such questions, it is also apparent that few researchers have even attempted to provide such answers. While Zimring's (129) effort is certainly pertinent to the relationship of serious juvenile crime and urbanization, a concluding statement must acknowledge that few urbanization studies exist which focus specifically on "serious juvenile crime." This is unfortunate, as previous commentary suggests, since inferring "total" urban crime studies to juveniles in those areas is not adequate.

There is no reason to suggest that the study of crime concentration stop with the urban/other distinction. As one researcher has noted, "There are reasons to suspect that crime is extremely concentrated within areas we now label urban" (45, p. 143). Suburban assessments are not new to the scene, although improved technology and study capability is gradually increasing our ability to undertake such efforts. This improved capability has been referred to by Crellia, Farnsworth, and Schuerman (67) in "Quantitative Tools in Criminal Justice Planning," and typically involves geo-coding and the subsequent computer mapping of crime-related information. While this kind of research is not totally new, little existing work is specifically pertinent to the topic of "serious juvenile crime." The Social Science Research Institute of the University of Southern California has previously applied some of these visual area mapping techniques to the study of "delinquency enclaves" of Los Angeles County (80, pp. 111-145). Results indicate, as Figure III-1 (p. 118) suggests, that delinquency is highly concentrated in key census tracts within the larger urban area.

This kind of crime indicator developmental program as described elsewhere by Schuerman (81, pp. 1-5) may become an important tool in later research with delinquency. After examining concentrations of total, person, and property juvenile complaints for Los Angeles County, the study concludes that high crime rate neighborhoods are "socially and demographically homogeneous units...which escape identification because their rates are lost in averages calculated for entire jurisdictions. (81, pp. 85-86). Suggestions for further study involve the examination of the two populations (e.g., social class, level and source of income, educational status, age and sex structure) within these high crime neighborhoods. (This approach to the study of serious juvenile crime can benefit not only aggregate "city" statistics, prevention and control priorities, but also can begin to describe serious juvenile crime on a more refined and appropriate level: the study of similarities and differences between high crime neighborhoods across different urban areas.) This approach can lend insight to the important, though evasive, relationship between urbanization and serious crime distribution. Such tactics will begin delving beneath the simple ranking of cities based upon serious crime indexes.


SPATIAL ENCLAVES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
COMPLAINTS REPORTED IN 1975:
CRIME AGAINST PERSONS COMPLAINTS
VENTURA COUNTY
PACIFIC OCEAN
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY
ORANGE COUNTY

DELINQUENCY ENCLAVES OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

SOURCE 80, P. 54

FIGURE III - 1

WHAT IS THE REGIONAL AND STATE DISTRIBUTION OF SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME?

The comparison of crime rates for regional and State areas provides indication of the distribution and concentration of serious juvenile crime. Harries (48, p. 204), for example, examined the geography of American crime by computing class limits, applying these to State crime rate data, and providing visual maps of the resulting configuration(s). Here it may be illustrative to apply similar techniques to juvenile index crime, i.e., total index crime and index offenses separately. Of particular interest is the examination of juvenile crime rates for those States proposing some kind of "stricter" legislation involving waiver, sentencing, and detention provisions alone or in combination. The question of interest here is whether these States represent juvenile crime rates which are higher than those States not proposing such legislation. To some extent Uniform Crime Reports arrest data for the year 1975 was applied in answering this question.*

Table III-1 (p. 120) ranks the regional areas depicted in Figure III-2 (p. 120) according to mean rates of violent and index property offenses combined. It can be noted that there is little relationship between the two rankings; that is, regional areas ranked high on the violent index are not necessarily ranked high on the property index and vice versa. Implied here are the conditions or geographic concerns related to violent crime which are not necessarily the same as those related to index property crime.

Eight States: California, Washington, Colorado, Illinois, Kentucky, Florida, New York, and Delaware are proposing or have enacted stricter legislation involving either sentencing, waiver, or detention stipulations for serious juvenile offenses. The following compares the juvenile crime rates of these States associated with stricter legislation with those not associated with stricter legislation, to determine if the former have higher crime rates, based on 1975 data.

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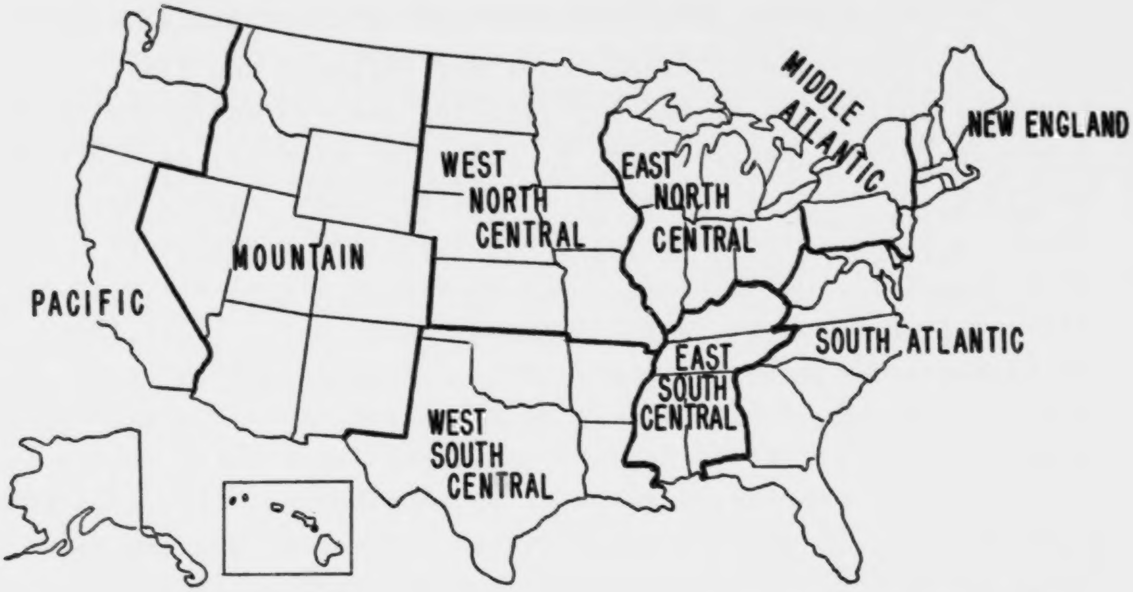
*All of the State arrest rates presented in this chapter were compiled based on UCR Special Request data received as part of an earlier study by the National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center, and on U.S. Bureau of the Census population figures (95, p. 28).


MIDDLE ATLANTIC
NEW ENGLAND
WEST NORTH CENTRAL
EAST NORTH CENTRAL
MOUNTAIN
PACIFIC
SOUTH ATLANTIC
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL

MAP OF THE U.S. SHOWING CENSUS DIVISIONS AND REGIONS

SOURCE: 95

FIGURE III-2

TABLE III-1

MEAN REGIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES (RANKED) FOR VIOLENT* AND PROPERTY** OFFENSES COMBINED (1975)

(BASED UPON CENSUS DIVISIONS)

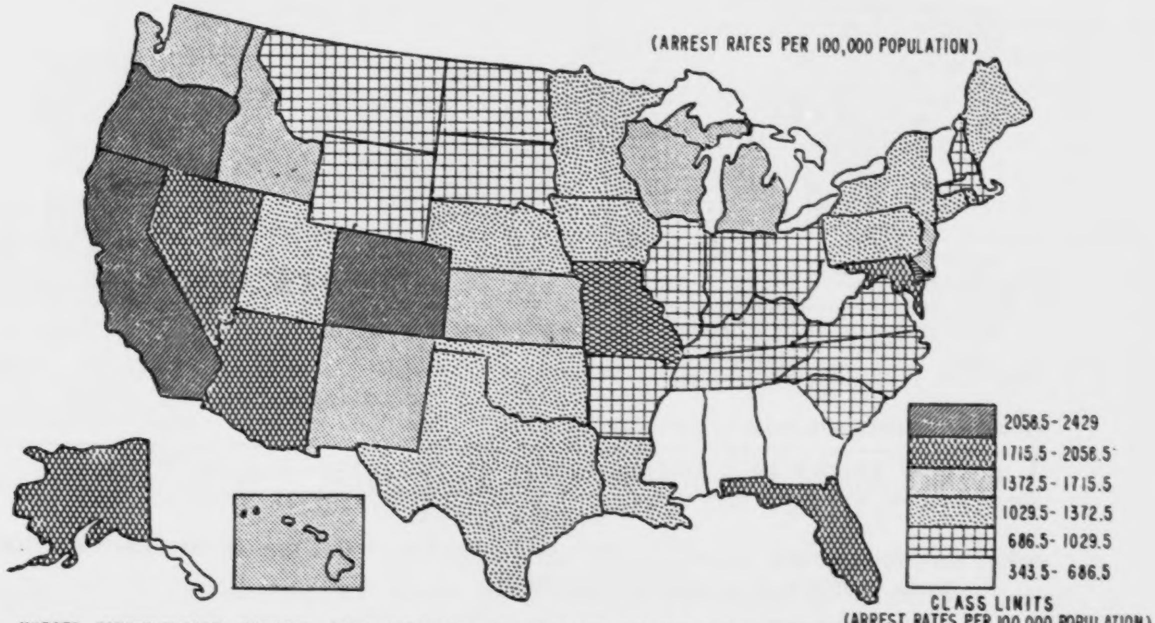
VIOLENT*			PROPERTY**		
	REGION	MEAN RATE		REGION	MEAN RATE
1.	MID-ATLANTIC	2.09	1.	PACIFIC	17.56
2.	SOUTH-ATLANTIC	1.92	2.	MOUNTAIN	14.57
3.	WEST S. CENTRAL	1.91	3.	MIDDLE ATLANTIC	11.95
4.	PACIFIC	1.31	4.	SOUTH ATLANTIC	11.72
5.	MOUNTAIN	.94	5.	WEST N. CENTRAL	11.27
6.	WEST N. CENTRAL	.86	6.	WEST S. CENTRAL	9.53
7.	EAST N. CENTRAL	.85	7.	EAST N. CENTRAL	9.03
8.	NEW ENGLAND	.63	8.	NEW ENGLAND	8.51
9.	EAST S. CENTRAL	.48	9.	EAST S. CENTRAL	6.10

* MURDER, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

** BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS (95, P. 28)

Figure III-3 below supports Table III-1 (p. 120) in that the Pacific States (California, Arizona, Nevada, and Oregon) emerge as the States having high index crime rates (due mostly to index property crime). States also having relatively high juvenile index crime rates are Colorado, Missouri, New Jersey, Maryland, and Florida, thus providing some indication that those States proposing legislation (California, Colorado, and Florida) seem, based upon 1975 arrest information, to have relatively high overall rates of juvenile index crime. However, other States proposing legislation (Washington, Illinois, Kentucky, New York, and Delaware)


(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)
2058.5 - 2429
1715.5 - 2058.5
1372.5 - 1715.5
1029.5 - 1372.5
686.5 - 1029.5
343.5 - 686.5
CLASS LIMITS
(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

* - MURDER, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

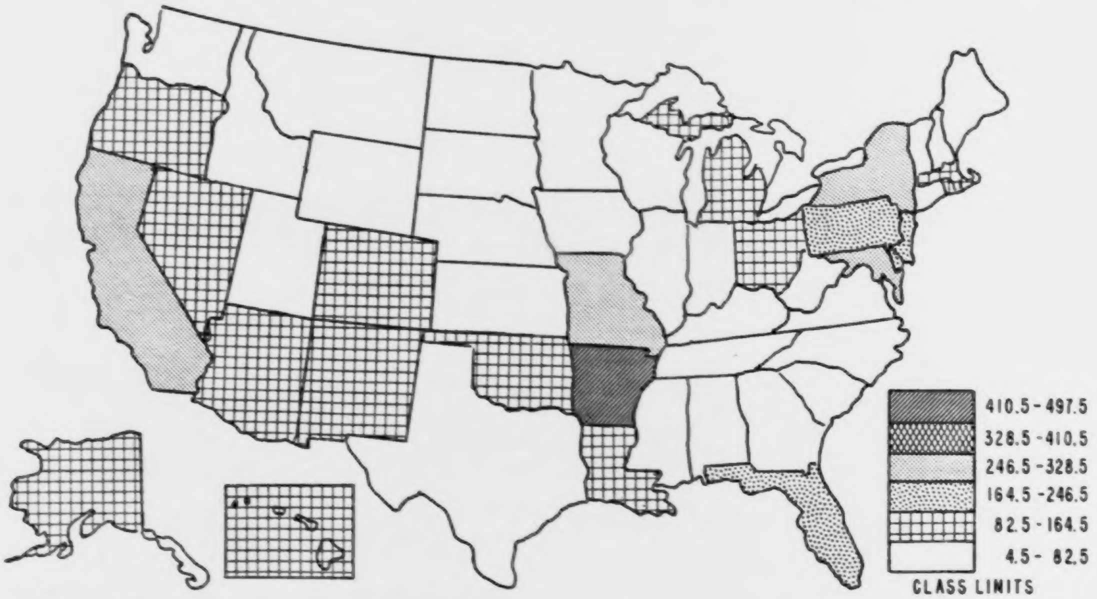
JUVENILE ARREST RATE DISTRIBUTION BY STATE (1975): TOTAL INDEX*

FIGURE III-3

SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

do not reflect relatively high arrest rates, suggesting no necessary relationship between juvenile arrests and the existence or proposition of legislation.*

The overall crime index was subdivided into violent and property indices, represented as Figures III-4 below and III-5 (p. 123). Comparison of these two figures suggests: (1) that few States have a relatively high violent crime rate, and the State distribution for the property index is much more "equal" for all class intervals; (2) four States (California, Colorado, Florida, Washington) proposing or having passed legislation have either


410.5 - 497.5
328.5 - 410.5
246.5 - 328.5
164.5 - 246.5
82.5 - 164.5
4.5 - 82.5
CLASS LIMITS
(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

** MURDER, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

JUVENILE ARREST RATE DISTRIBUTION BY STATE (1975): VIOLENT** COMBINED

FIGURE III-4

SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

relatively high violent or index property juvenile arrest rates. The State having the highest violent arrest rate is Arkansas, with arrest rates for other States being somewhat less.

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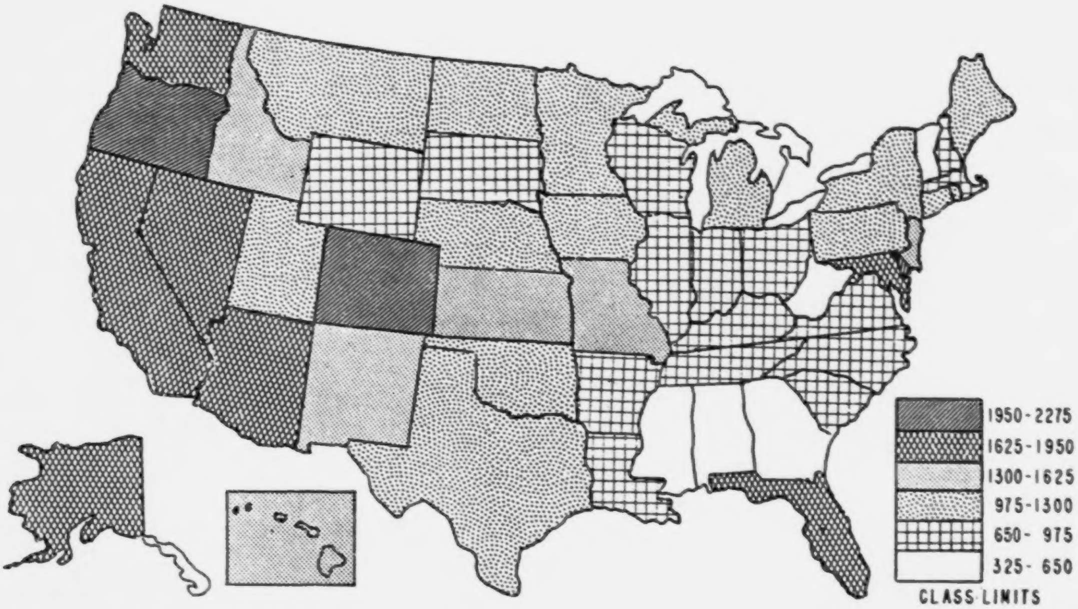
*Comparisons of this type are vulnerable due to the inconsistencies between reporting States. That is, some sophisticated States are better prepared to report a greater number of total arrests than other States. While national aggregate data can be "adjusted" to compensate for non or partial reporting, State-level comparisons can not be so adjusted. Comparisons are also difficult due to inconsistency between States regarding the definition of serious crimes and thus how much crime is so reported. For example, Oregon revised its criminal statute which resulted in crimes considered misdemeanors in many States to be counted as felonies.



* BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

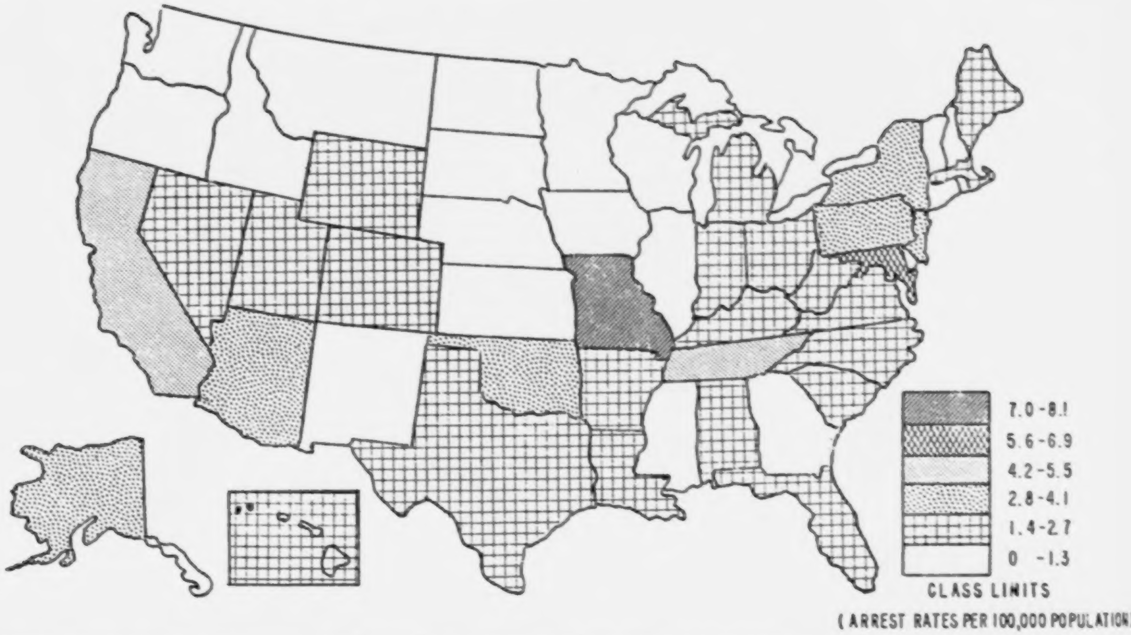
(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

JUVENILE ARREST RATE DISTRIBUTION BY STATE (1975) :INDEX PROPERTY*COMBINED

FIGURE III-5

SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

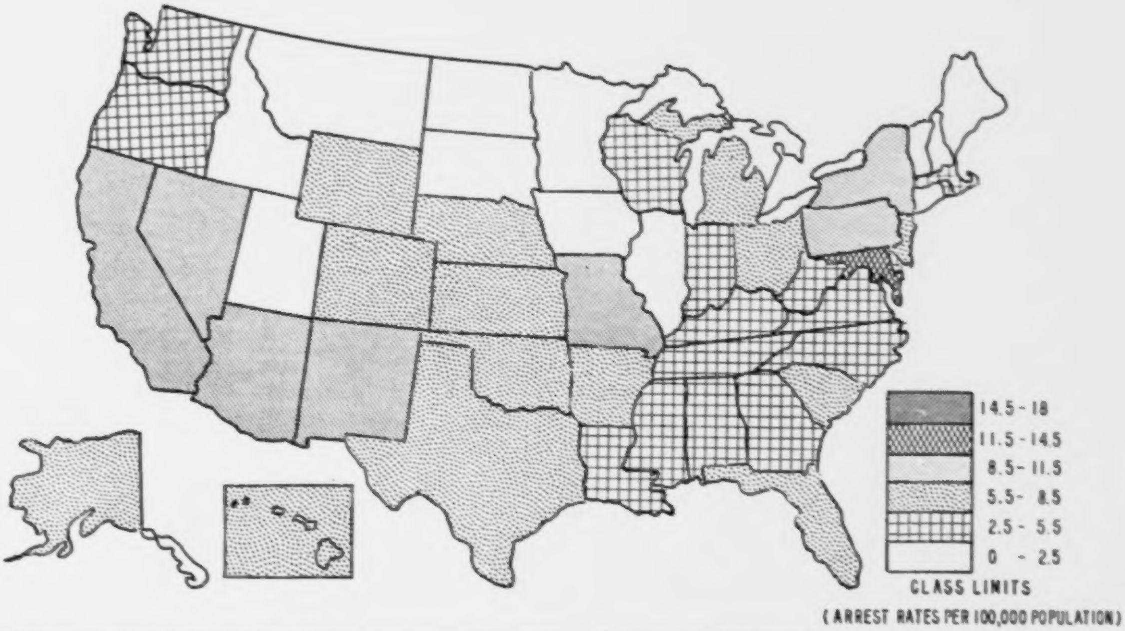
A comparison of juvenile arrest rates for specific violent crimes (Figure III-6, p. 124; III-7, p. 125; III-8, p. 126; and III-9, p. 127) indicates that for States associated with stricter legislation, the arrest rate for aggravated assault is relatively high (California, Florida). Somewhat surprising is Missouri, which has higher arrest rates for murder, robbery, and aggravated assault. New York has moderate arrest rates for all violent crimes except robbery, for which, along with two other States, it has the highest robbery arrest rate.


7.0-8.1
5.6-6.9
4.2-5.5
2.8-4.1
1.4-2.7
0 -1.3
CLASS LIMITS
(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION

JUVENILE ARREST RATE DISTRIBUTION BY STATE (1975): MURDER

FIGURE III-6

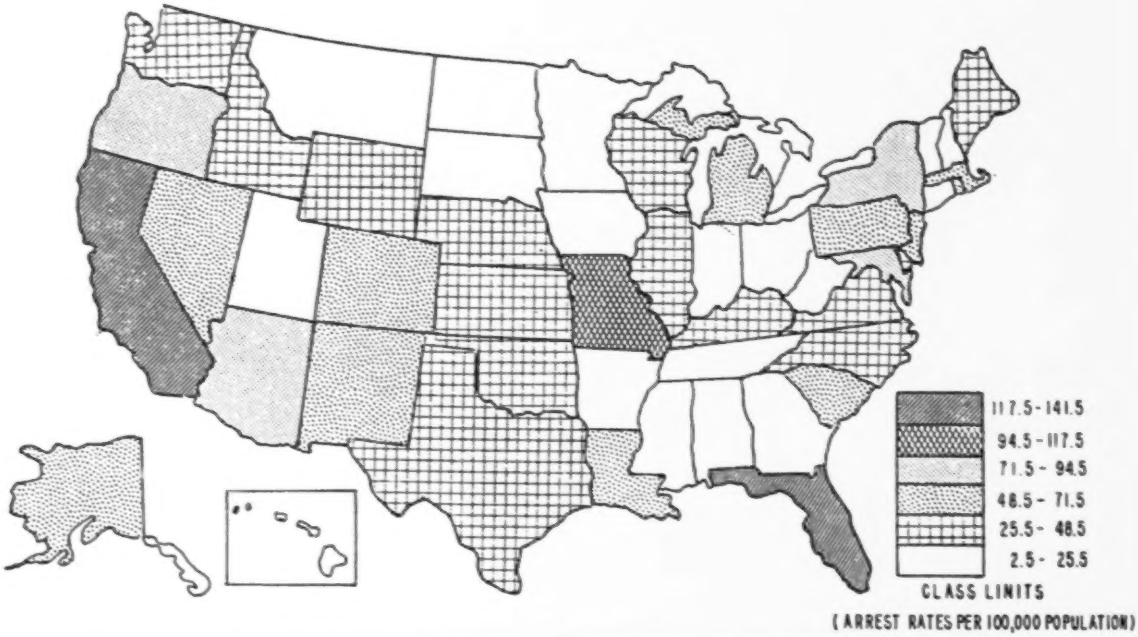
SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS


14.5 - 18
11.5 - 14.5
8.5 - 11.5
5.5 - 8.5
2.5 - 5.5
0 - 2.5
CLASS LIMITS
(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

JUVENILE ARREST RATE DISTRIBUTION BY STATE (1975): FORCIBLE RAPE

FIGURE III-7

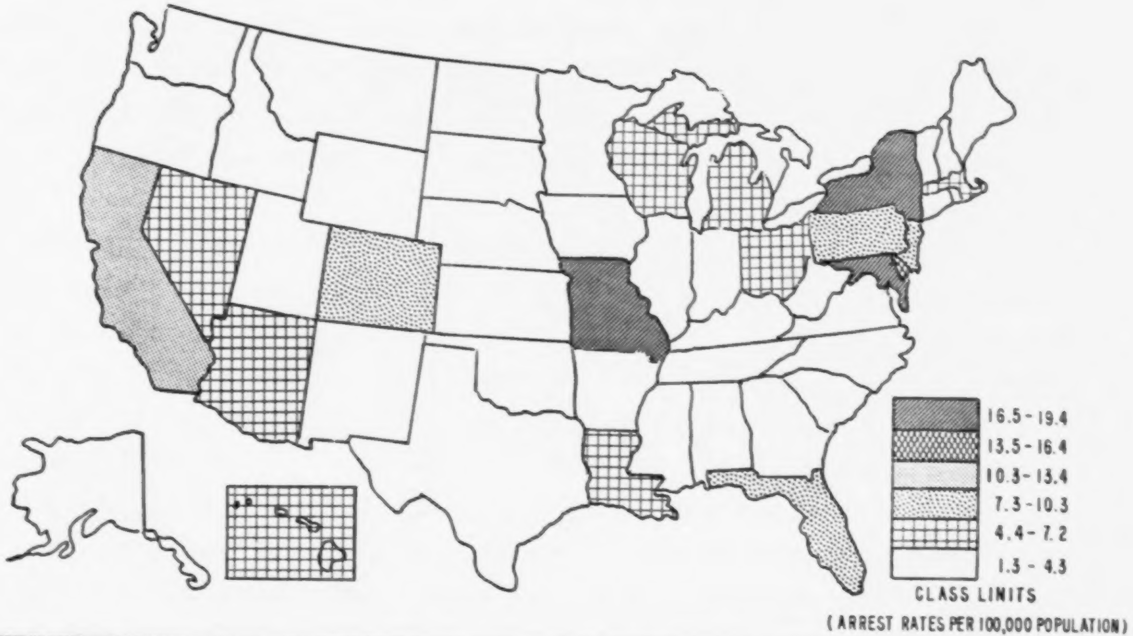
SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS


117.5 - 141.5
94.5 - 117.5
71.5 - 94.5
48.5 - 71.5
25.5 - 48.5
2.5 - 25.5
CLASS LIMITS
(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

JUVENILE ARREST RATE DISTRIBUTION BY STATE (1975) : AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

FIGURE III-8

SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS


16.5 - 19.4
13.5 - 16.4
10.3 - 13.4
7.3 - 10.3
4.4 - 7.2
1.3 - 4.3
CLASS LIMITS
(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

JUVENILE ARREST RATE DISTRIBUTION BY STATE (1975): ROBBERY

FIGURE III-9

SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Figures III-10, p. 129; III-11, p. 130; and III-12, p. 131 depict index property crime arrest rates separately. Several patterns emerge here, including clustering of juvenile arrests for some index property crimes in several Pacific States, as well as in Colorado, Wisconsin, Maryland, and Florida. Having typically low arrest rates are the "deep south" States of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia.* In regard to legislative activity, it is interesting to note that Oregon ranks high on both larceny and motor vehicle theft. While not proposing stricter legislation, Oregon does currently have two task forces which are studying their existing code with the stated purpose of bringing it more "up-to-date."

The preceding narrative suggests that, relatively speaking, juvenile index property crime is distributed much more evenly than violent crime. Also, if the preceding comparison is at all useful, it is suggested that several States associated with stricter legislation have relatively high juvenile index property crime rates In some cases, however, (Washington, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky) the proposed legislation seems to be proceeding without accompanying arrest information attesting to a relatively serious crime problem. This secondary analysis should not, however, be considered final. Fist, it is based upon 1975 data which may not be current enough to act as a useful index; and secondly, the comparison is only "relative." This latter point is significant because each State will no doubt decide what justifies a legislative response, whether it be a single, or several violent encounters receiving major media coverage. It is this "spectacular" cause and effect element which does not show up in the examination of arrest statistics, although it may be important. Another kind of legislative motivation may deal not with the level of juvenile crime as of 1975, but with dramatic increases in serious juvenile crime. If, for example, Florida noted a 20 percent increase in juvenile

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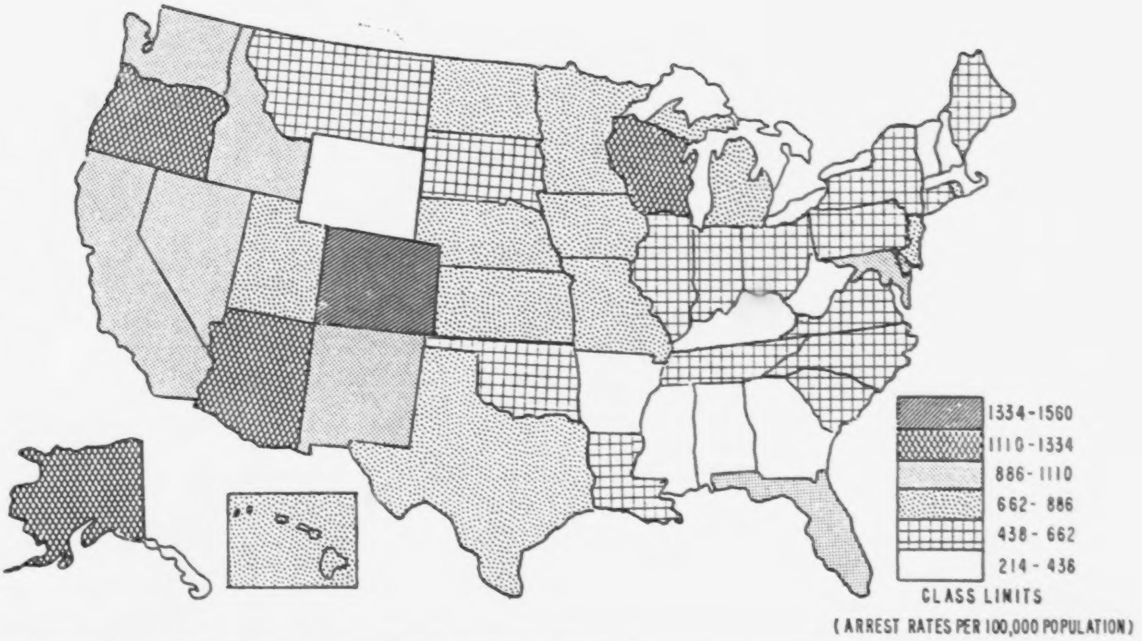
*Underreporting may be an issue here. Since UCR notes that eight unnamed States do not report through a State agency, some States might be expected to consistently provide only fragmented information on a yearly basis.

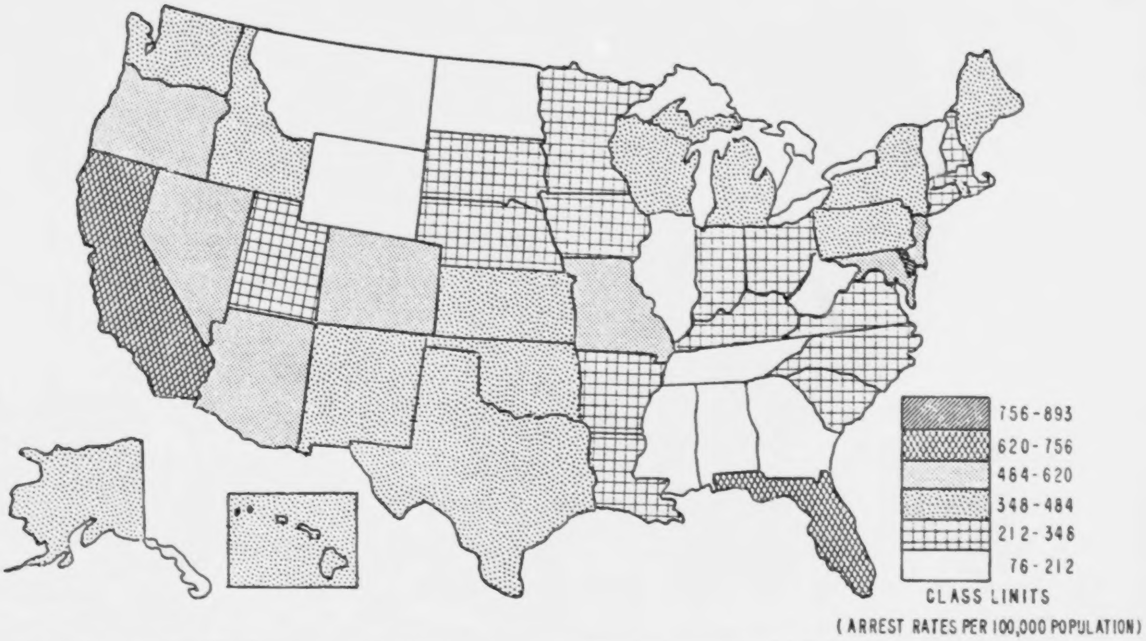


1334-1560
1110-1334
886-1110
662-886
438-662
214-438
CLASS LIMITS
(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

JUVENILE ARREST RATE DISTRIBUTION BY STATE (1975): LARCENY

FIGURE III-10

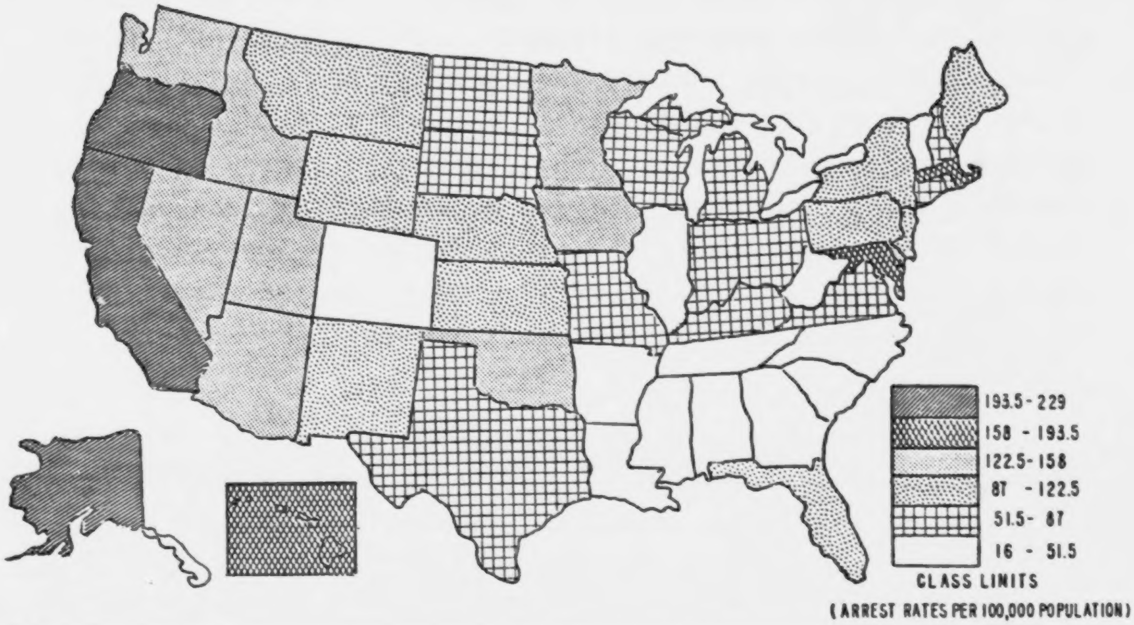
SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS


756-893
620-756
484-620
348-484
212-348
76-212
CLASS LIMITS
(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

JUVENILE ARREST RATE DISTRIBUTION BY STATE (1975): BURGLARY

FIGURE III-11

SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS


193.5 - 229
158 - 193.5
122.5 - 158
87 - 122.5
51.5 - 87
16 - 51.5
CLASS LIMITS
(ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION)

JUVENILE ARREST RATE DISTRIBUTION BY STATE (1975) : MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

FIGURE III-12

SOURCE: COMPILED BY NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER FROM INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS AND BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

violent crime arrest rates between 1974 and 1976, even though the 1976 arrest rate was still relatively low, this nevertheless might be alarming. It is this kind of "over time" comparison of State arrest data that was not possible here, although its potential effect cannot be underestimated.

The more interesting finding in this section has to do with the comparison of ranked regions (census divisions) regarding violent versus index property offenses. The dissimilar rankings (Table III-1, p.120) suggest that subregional areas of the country share little relationship between violent and index property crime. Further, while it seems that the regional distribution of violent crime is scattered throughout the United States, the western United States seems to be the front runner in juvenile index property crime (at least as of 1975). This kind of comparison should be attempted with more current data, which unfortunately was not available here.

WHAT ARE THE CONTEXTS, SETTINGS OF SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME?

Introduction

Within a geographic area exist numerous serious juvenile criminal acts, each somewhat different. These "acts" are more complex than suggested by offense labels, since they represent behavioral events involving: (1) physical settings, (2) human interaction, and, often, (3) motive. Legal labels fail to penetrate these dimensions of criminal incidents, requiring that whatever can be said about the events and context of index juvenile crime come from other sources. The settings for violent juvenile crime can be the home, school, the local "hangout," the street, or the local store, and can involve friends, relatives, peers, or strangers. Violent incidents may include confrontations involving gang participation, "group contagion," or individuals. Also, many violent acts are the results of patterns of interaction and escalation more complex than the offender/victim label suggests. As Von Hentig said some time ago:

> ...The relationships between perpetrator and victim are much more intricate than the rough distinctions of criminal law.

> As soon as human beings draw close...a wide range of interactions...are set in motion. What the law does is to watch the one who acts and the one who is acted upon. By this external criterion a subject and object, a perpetrator and a victim are distinguished. In sociological and psychological quality the situation may be completely different... (44, p. 51).

These distinctions are relevant to each of the seven index crimes, particularly if one wishes to understand the specific settings and contexts of each offense type. For example, numerous gradations or types of events exist within the offense labels "robbery" and "aggravated assault." Similar kinds of problems exist with the index property crimes where, for example, the title "larceny-theft" subsumes a variety of events which collectively make up yearly offenses of this type.

Delving below the legal label could ideally provide numerous kinds of setting information which would permit other comparisons of serious juvenile crime. Information sources that permit exploration of these underlying dimensions are, however, quite rare. The Uniform Crime Reports (98-111) and the National Crime Surveys (104) do not permit such probing, although for different reasons. The Uniform Crime Reports provide aggregate information based solely upon the index offense label without providing any additional incident information. The National Crime Survey studies do permit some examination of place and time of occurrence and number of offenders, but these concerns are not cross-tabulated by perceived age of offender, thus limiting their applicability to this report. Self-report studies, on the other hand, suffer from an inability to assess settings associated with serious crime because of the rarity of such offenses in typically small, self-report samples, as discussed in Appendix B (pp. 259-294). Without any national aggregate data source to permit these comparisons, inferences to such matters must come from selected studies.

The Interpersonal and Physical Setting

Since it is acknowledged that juveniles are more likely to commit crimes, and thus be arrested, in groups than persons of other ages, it is important to know what proportion of serious juvenile crime is committed in groups versus on an individual basis. Also, there are shades of peer involvement which fall somewhere between the "gang" and the "individual." It is known, for example, that youth become involved in "peer groups" which do not fit the description of a gang. Further, since youth frequently gather informally for dances and other social events, it would be interesting to know what proportions of violent offenses take place within a context of "group contagion."

Ideally, it would be informative to break down each serious offense type along the interpersonal dimensions described above. Unfortunately, such descriptions are more research oriented than useful for administrative purposes and are therefore not routinely collected by the Uniform Crime Reports or any other national information source.* By far the most research efforts have been devoted to the study of juvenile gangs, but such efforts have not dealt extensively with contextual issues. The collective efforts of Cohen (3), Block and Niederhoffer (1), Miller (57, 58, 59), Cloward and Ohlin (2), Klein (54), the New York State Assembly (65), and the Pennsylvania Crime Commission (69) also fail to suggest the amount of juvenile crime which can be attributed to gangs. The best evidence that can be brought to bear on this subject has been provided by Miller (58, p. 33), who maintains that one out of two gang member arrests are for violence, as compared to one out of five for non-gang members. Unfortunately, not knowing how many of the total juvenile arrests are gang members leaves this statement somewhat uninformative, although Miller does suggest that gang-related killings account for the equivalent of one-fourth of all juvenile homicides. Also, it is true that gang members are not necessarily under the age of 18, which indicates the gang problem is, to some extent, an issue of young adults (18-20) as well as juveniles.

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*A review of the results of the fugitive literature search has also located few jurisdictions that collect this kind of information. Access to police (modus operandi) files might allow these kinds of comparisons, although analysis of such data would not fall within the definition of assessment (67).

The relationship between serious juvenile crime and the crime context is briefly discussed by Miller (58, p. 46), who notes that school yards are increasingly becoming the setting for gang violence.* He also suggests that the gang incident is changing from the "rumble" type offense to "forays by small bands, armed and often motorized" (58, p. 76). Miller (58, pp. 75-76) speculates that the motive of the modern gang may be dominated by material gain and desire to exert control over public facilities, while Cohen (3, p. 105) cites the often heard "protection of turf" explanation as one of several motives. Translating these implications into measurable inferences to the seven index offense types is an intriguing but impossible task at present.

While it is generally safe to assume that gangs are associated with large urban or metropolitan areas, little else is known about their collective activities and their specific habits. While Miller's (58, pp. 75-76) observation regarding the increased mobility of today's gang certainly makes sense, it is not known to what extent this mobility has stimulated gang interest in increased material pursuit in contrast to the more traditional "rumble." This one issue, if better understood, would provide valuable insight into the motive of the contemporary gang.

The physical setting of some kinds of juvenile crime seems to be changing. This was touched upon in Chapter I which noted that juvenile theft from homes (burglary) seems to be increasing faster than theft from persons (larceny) or of vehicles (motor vehicle theft). There are physical setting implications here, since a comparison of these offense labels and rate changes suggests that juveniles are increasingly turning their attention towards theft from homes and buildings in contrast to other kinds of theft. Implications are hard to explain here, however, since any "displacement" in the kind of property stolen may depend upon the theft of some items becoming more difficult. For example, improved security features of late model automobiles may deter youth from the theft of automobiles while "displacing" their activity elsewhere.

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*This conclusion is in keeping with the often reported increases in school crime over recent years.

The observation of Miller (57, p. 46) that the school is increasingly becoming the scene of gang-related activities raises other issues of interest. Most notably, it would be interesting to know what proportion of serious juvenile crime takes place on the school grounds now in relation to several years ago. Implications here are several, including the "displacement" of serious crime from the community to school or vice-versa. The implications of busing might also be important here if much school crime was motivated by interracial reasons. Unfortunately, answers to these questions are impossible since most information collection and research efforts are preceding on parallel but uncomplementary tracks. For example, the recent "Safe School Study" (96, pp. 1-13) provides major insight to the nature and extent of crime in the nation's schools, but cannot provide any idea of the amount of total juvenile crime that takes place on school grounds versus the community at large. This, combined with the fact that the Uniform Crime Reports does not provide "physical setting" information, identifies a problem in that there is crime in the community and crime in the schools, and no method of tying the relative proportions of the two together quantitatively. As noted by Halatyn (43, pp. 19-20), comparisons of crime rates for schools versus the community over time would not only provide clues to the displacement of juvenile crime, but would permit some speculation as to the reasons for noted displacements.*

It has been noted that a substantial amount of violence involves family members within the domestic setting. Since this finding has not been confined to the study of juvenile violence, specific questions here have yet to be answered. For example, it would be interesting to determine what amount of juvenile violence involves other family members within the family setting. While it is speculated that only a small percentage of juvenile violence takes place in this setting, there is no source of data to empirically answer this question. Steinmetz and Straus (15, pp. 233-234), for example, remark that family situations can produce violent encounters, but there is no information source permitting documentation of these violence producing family situations. Here, the source of conflict might involve some aggravation of the "generation gap," or specific grievances between parent and child or between siblings. Also, as Steinmetz and Straus note, family tension can cause the child to turn to the streets where his or her acting out of crime and violence is more common (15, p. 257).*

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*Some of this reasoning is based upon whether the probable causes of school crime are different from those that may explain delinquency or are simply the result of displacement effects, i.e., the school has become a more interesting "target."

Youth Mobility and the Targets of Serious Crime

It was suggested by Miller that the gang incident is changing from the "rumble" to the "foray of small bands which are often motorized" (58, pp. 75-76). Motorization, when generalized to all youth crime, raises issues regarding the increasingly high mobility of youth and changing patterns of youth crime. Mobility may, for example, allow burglars or robbers, alone or in groups, to strike at locations previously inaccessible without the availability of the automobile. Also, geographic proximity between living location and location of criminal activity is an important contextual issue, since the variation of automobile use in relation to specific events subsumed within legal offense categories may help predict the patterns of future crime. The extent to which existing studies and information bear upon this contextual issue is extremely limited, since many offense specific studies (4, 32, 34) either do not deal with this issue or are not specifically pertinent to juveniles. Again, the inability to answer important descriptive questions regarding the current and changing spatial characteristics of youth crime is a disturbing but quite real state of affairs. The result of the "fugitive" literature search also provides few clues to these topics, although partial answers might be found at the local or police jurisdiction level. Some police departments do automate modus operandi data suggesting that these jurisdictions may classify and code the spatial characteristics of juvenile crime.*

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*The issue here increasingly becomes the family as a causal influence of delinquency production. This aspect of the family is briefly reviewed in Chapter IV, pp. 202-203.

Speculative questions regarding the effect of mobility upon the selection of targets for serious crime also emerge. One study, for example, noted that 24-hour convenience stores were increasingly becoming targets of robbery since they represented easy access because of the automobile (32, p. 36). Further, the study notes that 22 percent of the robbers were under the age of 20, although the study does not go so far as to suggest that more juvenile-age youth are finding "high mobility" targets of crime more attractive.

Other questions apply to other kinds of offenses including, for example, burglary. Availability of automobiles suggests that there is opportunity to burglarize areas not within the neighborhood of the offender. The selection of more affluent areas becomes more attractive, although little information exists which indicates the extent to which mobility has increased the physical "displacement" of index property crime.

CONCLUSIONS

It can be recalled that two studies (21, 131) at the beginning of this chapter made the observation that juvenile crime, defined as either violence or delinquency, was a more heterogeneous and diffuse phenomenon than suggested by national aggregate statistics. As a result, this chapter attempted to describe the spatial distribution, contexts, and settings of serious juvenile crime through a combination of assessing pertinent literature and secondary analysis of 1975 UCR arrest data. Topics or questions thought to be important to the general title involve urbanization and geographic distribution, as well as the interpersonal and physical contexts and settings of serious juvenile crime. The distinction between the geographic distribution and contexts and settings is particularly important, since ideally it would be helpful to understand the interpersonal and physical similarities and differences of criminal incidents (offenses) across different urban or geographic areas. Unfortunately, it is not generally possible to tie geographic and contextual information together quantitatively, requiring that the two be discussed as parallel but non-complimentary efforts.

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*At some later date, it may be advisable to undertake a study of police jurisdictions to determine the extent to which they can help answer these questions.

An assessment of the kinds of information which bear upon this topic suggests several things. First, a variety of studies have been completed which deal with the relationship between urbanization and crime, although most such efforts do not confine their attention to crime committed by juveniles. Studies like that undertaken by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (60, pp. 62-69) suggest that violence attributable to all age groups is concentrated in the largest cities, a finding that Zimring, with reservations, agrees to when applied to juveniles (131, p. 25). Generally, information permitting any discussion of the relationship between urbanization and serious juvenile crime has typically relied upon some variety of official information (primarily that of the Uniform Crime Reports). Alternate sources of information, either victimization or self-report, are not capable of providing major insight since self-report studies use sample sizes that are too small, while victimization sources cannot make reliable inferences to the age of the offender.

This chapter was able to examine 1975 UCR information to derive some estimates of the geographic distribution of serious juvenile crime using arrest information for index offenses. Since the number of reported arrests is typically below the number of reported offenses, arrest data may or may not be a more reliable measure of "crime." Again, there are no alternatives to using UCR arrest data to determine the geographic distribution of serious juvenile crime.

Finally, this chapter identified few sources which permit major discussion of the context and settings of juvenile crime, either violent or index property. The assumption here is that knowledge of the interpersonal and physical setting of juvenile index crime and its relationship to geographic location permits classification and understanding of crime on bases other than administrative legal labels. Unfortunately, no major information sources permit delving within this dimension, requiring that attention be turned to a variety of study efforts. The results of this endeavor are hardly impressive, since most contextual or setting information identified was confined to the study of gang behavior which probably does not account for a major portion of serious juvenile crime.

Specific findings and implications can be summarized as:

- The University of Southern California (80, p. 54) found within the larger urban area, neighborhoods or enclaves that account for most "person crime" complaints. An issue of some interest would be to begin describing, quantitatively, high crime-producing areas within the larger urban area and examining their similarities or differences across other urban areas.

- 1975 UCR arrest data indicate that there is little resemblance between ranked census regions for the violent and property indices. This can be interpreted as meaning the conditions or geographic settings attributable to violence are not the same as those attributable to property crime. A superior test of this might involve the comparison of property and violent indices for urban, suburban, and rural areas over time.

- Examination of the State arrest rate distribution of juvenile index crime suggests that Pacific States are generally the highest in regard to index property crime.

- Relatively speaking, there seems to be little relationship between index crime arrest rates (1975 data) and States associated with some form of stricter legislation directed at juveniles versus States not associated with proposing such stricter legislation.

- Little is known about the interpersonal setting of serious juvenile crime; for example, the extent to which violent or property crimes occur as a product of individual, group, or gang behavior.

- Little is also known about the physical setting of serious juvenile crime, particularly what proportion takes place on school grounds versus the community, and whether this proportion is changing or being displaced over time.

- Changing patterns of behavior of gangs and possibly other youth due to increased mobility may help explain changing patterns of theft and the motivation for gang behavior.

This chapter introduces the importance of the spatial and contextual issues pertinent to a better description of serious juvenile crime. Many of the issues touched upon in this chapter could and might be considered future research priorities because of their importance to generating a better descriptive understanding of serious juvenile crime. Also, since these issues collectively represent the weakest link in the understanding of serious juvenile crime, they might also be considered the most important *if* greater understanding of this phenomenon remains an important priority topic.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF JUVENILES ARRESTED AND ADJUDICATED FOR SERIOUS OFFENSES: PATTERNS AND TRENDS

INTRODUCTION

> Serious offending rates are far greater for males than females; serious offending rates, particularly those for violent crimes against persons, are much greater for minority than for white youth...and black youth are far more likely to be chronic recidivists than are white youth (117, p. 84).

> ...the best predictors of future violence seem to be relatively enduring characteristics of the offender--race, sex, socioeconomic status, prior court appearances ... (52, p. 117).

These quotations from recent testimony and symposium proceedings illustrate the ways in which one might characterize the serious or violent juvenile offender. Generally, there are two sources for these conclusions. First, conclusions regarding the race and sex of offenders come largely from official sources, usually UCR arrest data and, to a lesser extent, courts, corrections, and other study data. Secondly, information regarding socioeconomic status and prior record of offenders, as well as the characteristics of chronic offenders, has come largely from research studies, since such variables are not commonly coded by official sources. The fact that such disparate sources are consulted is an indication of the fragmented ability to describe the serious offender. While it may be a foregone conclusion that existing information may not allow a more detailed composite profile than indicated in the above quotes, this chapter also proposes: (1) to examine the characteristics of thosc arrested and adjudicated for index crimes; and (2) examine how the characteristics of these individuals has changed over time, thus permitting a limited projection of his or her future attributes. This latter goal will certainly be controversial, since it will rely upon Uniform Crime Reports arrest information. Such information may, to some extent, be a reflection of police activity and apprehension ability over time, and cannot therefore be considered an infallible guide to the changing characteristics of offenders. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the "uniform" nature of the Uniform Crime Reports can permit some cautious inferences to be made regarding the age, sex, and race of those arrested for index offenses.

The study of the "characteristics" of the serious juvenile offender is not as simple as it first appears. Assuming first that a characteristic is a distinguishing trait, quality, or property (16, p. 187) does little to help identify characteristics of interest. While few people disagree that chronological age, sex, or race are obvious characteristics, living arrangement, living location, and income are also characteristics, although of a different type. Further, psychological and sociological explanations of behavior, or in this case, serious juvenile crime, can confuse the selection of characteristics. For example, one can consider conditions that can explain or have been related to serious juvenile offenders as characteristics. Therefore, characteristics can be organized along two tracks: a track which includes common or "intrinsic" features (e.g., age, sex, race) and a theoretical track which has identified other variables which are related to serious juvenile offenders. For example, base expectancy studies (45, pp. 65-69) have commonly found that the commission of property offenses or the use of alcohol predict failure (re-arrest) on parole. If these behaviors or criminal history variables predict future offenses, they should also be considered "characteristics." Similar logic applies to etiological or causal research, where explanatory or independent variables are found to be related to the dependent variable (violent, serious juvenile crime, delinquency, deviance).

Relying upon official data to determine the characteristics of offenders, as most of this chapter does, is limited by the nature of the data commonly available. Ideally, it would be preferable to compile a national profile of the known and unknown perpetrator. Also, it would be illustrative to compile a national profile of the adjudicated serious juvenile offender using court or corrections data. Unfortunately, the amount of information permitting a profile of the "hidden" offender is negligible, while national court and corrections data are not compiled in sufficient detail to describe who are the adjudicated serious offenders.

For example, Juvenile Court Statistics (30) do not permit distinction between "serious" and "less serious" offenses or provide measures of severity of delinquent status.* National corrections sources, on the other hand, Children in Custody (113), and National Prisoner Statistics (112), do not permit age or sufficient offense breakdowns. As a result, the only national data source permitting any inference towards the "serious" juvenile offender by measure of seriousness and age is the Uniform Crime Reports arrest data. Therefore, given the purpose of this chapter, it is necessary to rely upon arrest data as the only national-level indicator of "offender" characteristics. It is certainly true that "differential visability" and the "funnel effect" make arrest data a controversial indicator of those ultimately adjudicated as offenders. In the absence of better information, however, some inferences will nevertheless be attempted.

In an attempt to assess characteristics of adjudicated serious juvenile offenders, this chapter includes a discussion of the characteristics of offenders as derived from the State information survey conducted as part of this assessment. This survey, described in detail in Appendix C (p. 301) attempted to compile State information sources which look particularly at the characteristics of juvenile offenders convicted or detained for index crimes. To the extent possible, this information was analyzed to provide some idea of who, in the absence of similar national data, the adjudicated offender is at the State level. While not comparable with national UCR arrest data, this information provides some glimpse of the characteristics of juvenile offenders for those States that returned information at the request of the Assessment Center survey.

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*A promising source of court data which has not yet been formally released is entitled, "Young People and the Juvenile Justice System: Statistics 1975," by Daniel D. Smith (79). Due to the preliminary nature of the data, as well as time constraints of the present report, information from this source could not be fully analyzed and integrated here. However, summary statements about the data will be mentioned at appropriate points in this section.

A review of criminal justice literature and information has identified the following types of sources which might directly or indirectly shed light on the "characteristics" of the juveniles involved in index or serious crime:

- National Official Arrest, Adjudication, or Corrections Sources--Includes data pertinent to arrests, adjudications, confinements. The most commonly known source, the Uniform Crime Reports, also happens to be the only one which permits a national composite picture (98 through 111). Other nationwide sources, including Juvenile Court Statistics (26) do not allow any division of cases by either severity or even offense type. Corrections sources are piecemeal and do not permit a national composite picture.

- Sources of State Court Referrals--The most comprehensive source of court referral data for individual States is currently being compiled by the National Center for Juvenile Justice. As previously noted (see p. 165), the Center data has not yet been formally released, although a Preliminary Draft entitled, "Young People and the Juvenile Justice System: Statistics 1975" has been made available (79). Time constraints did not allow a thorough analysis of the data to be made for the present report.

- National Survey of Court and Correction Information--As a special effort to identify and obtain additional State reports and information not commonly compiled, a survey of correctional and research agencies across the country was undertaken for this assessment. The mail-out survey was an attempt to acquire additional characteristic information to supplement the national data.

- Self-Report Sources--Primarily academic in origin and orientation, such studies are typically based upon sample sizes too small for direct comparison to official sources, or to be "generalizable" beyond the study sample. They can, however, be used to make limited inferences towards characteristics.

- Victimization Sources--Provide an indirect way to assess age, sex, race of offenders as "perceived" by victims. Difficult in most cases to make direct comparisons with official sources, and reliance upon victim recall is a serious limitation.

- Cohort/Panel Studies--Relatively few in number, but good sources for understanding criminal careers. Again, the inability to generalize is due in part to the fact that such studies are based upon small sample sizes which may not be accurate when extrapolated to other years or locations.

- Etiological/Causal Studies--To a limited extent, theories of delinquency or crime may have some bearing upon the identity of the serious juvenile offender. Unfortunately, determining what the characteristics might be, based upon theoretical exploration, is a difficult and less than conclusive undertaking. Generally, small sample sizes and inconclusive results suggest that characteristics identified via this approach be only tentatively considered.

- Typological Studies--Two types of research are pertinent here; attempts to identify types of violent offenders (45, pp. 42-49), and types of delinquents (6). As reviewed by Halatyn (45), most typologies pertinent to violent offenders do not permit age distinctions, while delinquent typologies fail to permit distinctions regarding the more serious offenses.

- Correlational/Prediction Studies--Although not qualifying as cohort panel or etiological studies, many such efforts, including parole prediction efforts, have limited value. Unfortunately, most have been undertaken with adult rather than juvenile samples.

In order to be considered in this chapter, the above sources had to fulfill several criteria. Briefly, these were: (1) The study must contain cases or a sample size of substantial numbers. Generally, studies using samples of less than 500 cases were not considered. This criteria also excluded many reports acquired as part of the survey from small rural States. (2) Information sources or studies must allow comparisons by juvenile age and include a measure of severity or offense seriousness commensurate with that already established. The application of these criteria to the literature resulted in the rejection of many articles at the abstract stage, while others were considered inappropriate only after reviewing the entire article or book.

The following narrative is based, in large part, upon the alternate examination of arrest frequencies and rates. Frequencies are used for looking at numbers and proportions of current data. Arrest rates are used to determine how characteristics are changing. It may seem somewhat peculiar not to use frequencies here, although the reasoning is similar to that discussed in Chapter II (pp. 71-72). Obviously, the characteristics of those arrested can be based upon frequencies or rates. From the standpoint of surveillance or citizen concern, the identity of those confronted can be based upon proportions of arrest frequencies. For example, if arrest frequencies indicate that the juvenile robber is more often black than white, this has some value. However, if one wishes to know how the characteristics of robbers are changing, the use of frequencies would result in profiles permitting only limited inferences. Particularly in regard to race, where there are substantially different changes in population between ethnic groups, the use of frequencies can be misleading. Thus, rates more accurately express the changing arrest contribution of population subgroups.

Particularly in regard to characteristic profiles associated with offense groups, there are the issues of proportion of arrest frequencies versus the topic of disproportionality. The latter approach is applied to study over time comparisons. Rates are plotted to determine which population subgroups are being arrested more frequently in relation to their total numbers (as a measure of proportionality). As a result, attempts to characterize those arrested is based upon frequencies, that is, proportions of arrests and changing rate profiles to assess proportionality over time. Resulting characteristic profiles represent a balance of these concerns.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF JUVENILES ARRESTED FOR INDEX OFFENSES

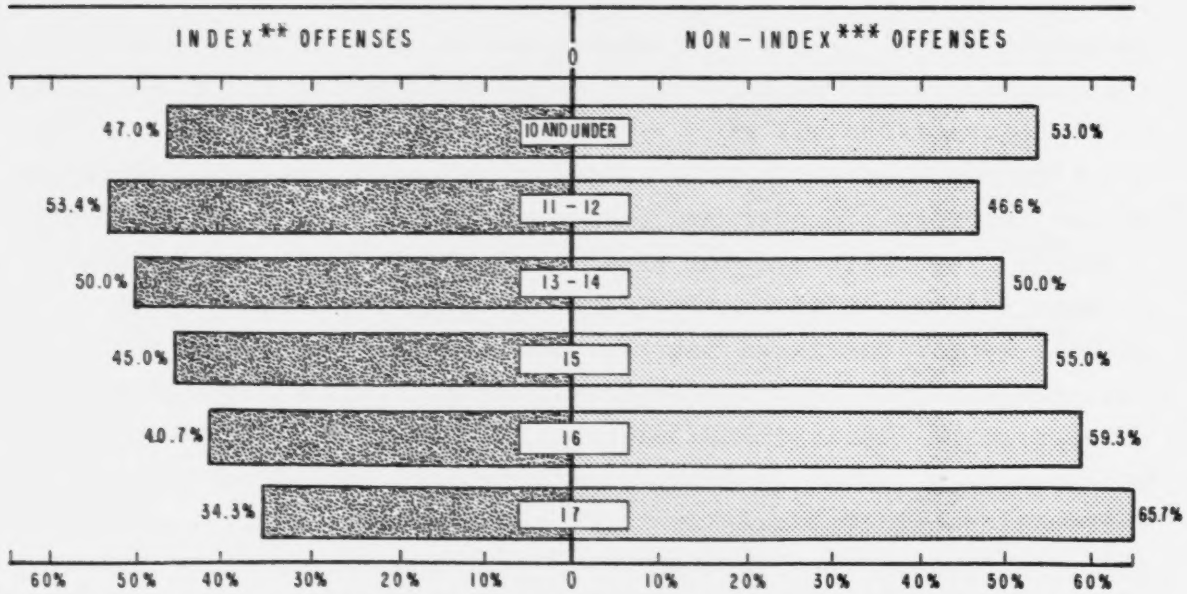
Age

In Chapter II, it was noted that juveniles commit various proportions and types of index crime. However, such comparisons provide little insight to age-specific characteristics of the serious juvenile offender. Also, aggregate age data (i.e., "all juveniles") can be potentially misleading, since it may "mask" differences in current or trend arrest data between different age subgroups, such as 15- and 16-year-olds. A descriptive topic of some interest is, therefore, to assess the relationship between serious juvenile crime and the specific juvenile age of the offender. Three major questions are pertinent here: (1) What is the specific age distribution for different serious offense classifications? (2) What trends emerge when comparing serious offense arrest rates by specific juvenile age? and (3) Is the specific age distribution of the serious juvenile offender (by offense classification) changing? Further, to the extent possible, these questions should be addressed via a variety of information sources. The following represents the extent to which current information discloses answers to these questions.

Information sources that allow a national composite picture of the juvenile offender by specific age and offense are extremely limited. The Uniform Crime Reports represent the only official information source which allows an age-specific comparison by offense type. Victimization studies, for example, are based upon (1) general age categories as perceived by the victim of person offenses, and (2) a probability sample permitting percentage comparisons only. Most self-report studies are not based upon a national probability sample, and are therefore not useful in compiling a national age specific profile. One exception to this, a study by Gold and Reimer (41), is somewhat dated (1972) and based upon a small sample, making national generalizations difficult. One potentially useful national self-report study undertaken by the Behavioral Research Institute may be helpful to this topic, but will not appear until sometime during 1979 (22).

Sources which have recently reviewed UCR data according to specific juvenile age are few in number and can be limited to Dealing with Delinquency (21), several studies by Zimring (127, 129), and recent Senate hearings on serious juvenile crime (117). None of these sources approach the topic of specific age and offense in exactly the same manner, although their approach is similar to that of the following secondary analysis.

The first question, that is, "What is the Specific Age Distribution for Different Serious Offense Classifications?", can be answered by classifying all arrests of juveniles in a specific age category as involving either index or non-index offense types. According to Figure IV-1 below, the proportion of index to non-index offenses decreases as age increases* (see Appendix E, Table E-22, p. 334).



** INDEX OFFENSES INCLUDE OFFENSES OF CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

*** NON-INDEX OFFENSES INCLUDE OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS CRIMES, AND ALL OTHER CRIMINAL OFFENSES

PROPORTION OF INDEX TO NON-INDEX ARREST FREQUENCIES BY AGE (1977)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-21

FIGURE IV-1

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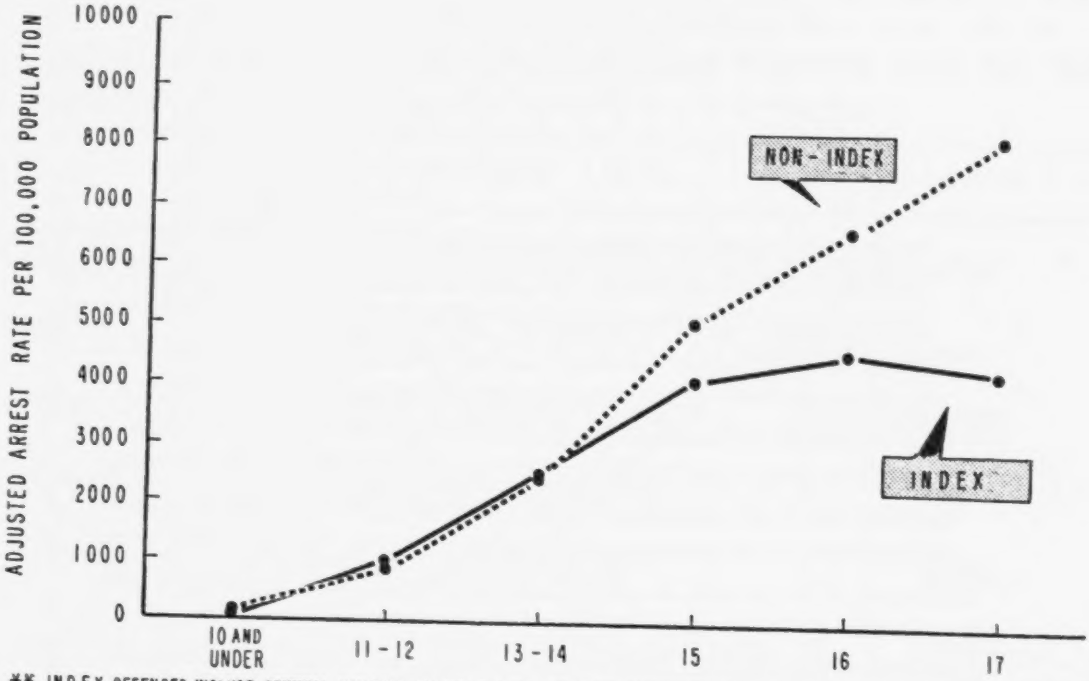
*A problem here is that no longitudinal assessment is possible. That is, such UCR age comparisons do not reflect, for example, how many of those arrested for serious offenses in 1975 appear as serious arrests for 1976. Unfortunately, suggested answers to these questions to date can only come from several cohort or panel studies. This is discussed further as part of the chronicity section (see pp. 205-212).

Figure IV-2 below reports total index and non-index offense arrest rates* adjusted per 100,000 population for the six age groups. Apparent here is that the rate of arrest for index crime increases and levels off during juvenile age, while non-index crime is still increasing as of age 17. Although not apparent in Figure IV-2, aggregate juvenile index crime "peaks" about the age of 16, while non-index offenses have not yet peaked at the age of 18 (see Appendix E, Table E-22, p. 334).



** INDEX OFFENSES INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

*** NON-INDEX OFFENSES INCLUDE OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS CRIME, AND ALL OTHER CRIMINAL OFFENSES

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR INDEX** AND NON-INDEX*** OFFENSES BY AGE (1977)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-22

FIGURE IV-2

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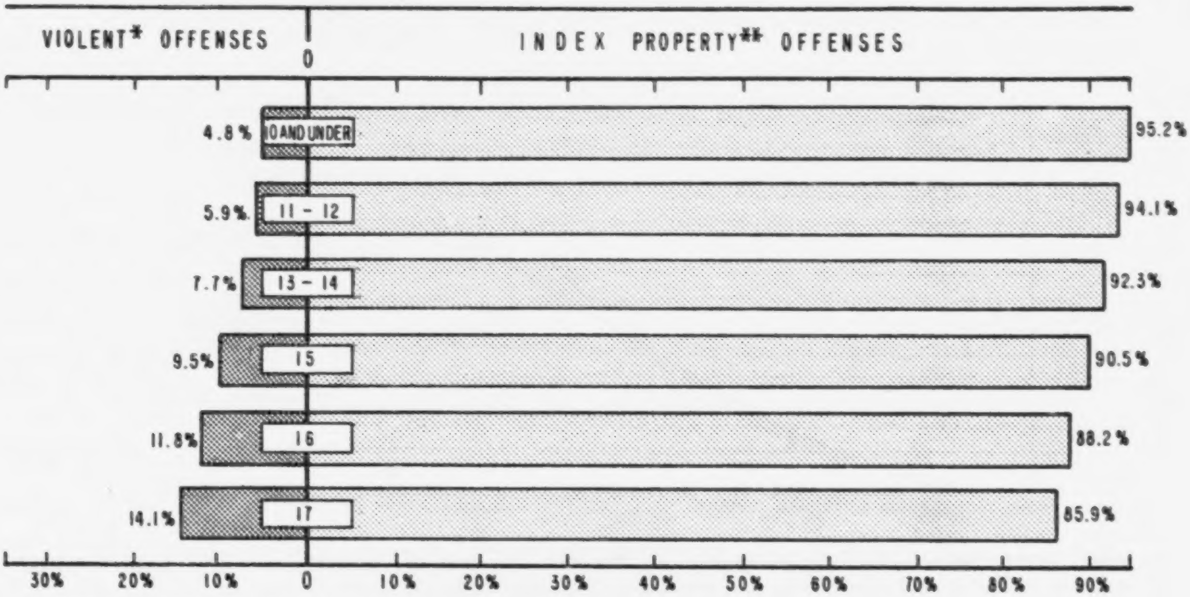
*All arrest rates presented in Chapter IV have been adjusted according to the procedures outlined in Appendix C, pp. 304-306).

Since examination of aggregate index offenses combined may mask heterogeneous differences within this category, the seven index offenses were separated according to either violent or property offenses. These then were compared in a similar sequence as above.

Figure IV-3 below indicates that the proportion of violent to index property offenses increases as age increases. That is, although total juvenile index crime seems to peak about age 16 and then decline, violent and property indices differ within this broad category. In this case, it appears that the proportion of violent to property crime increases with age.



* VIOLENT OFFENSES INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

** INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES INCLUDE BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

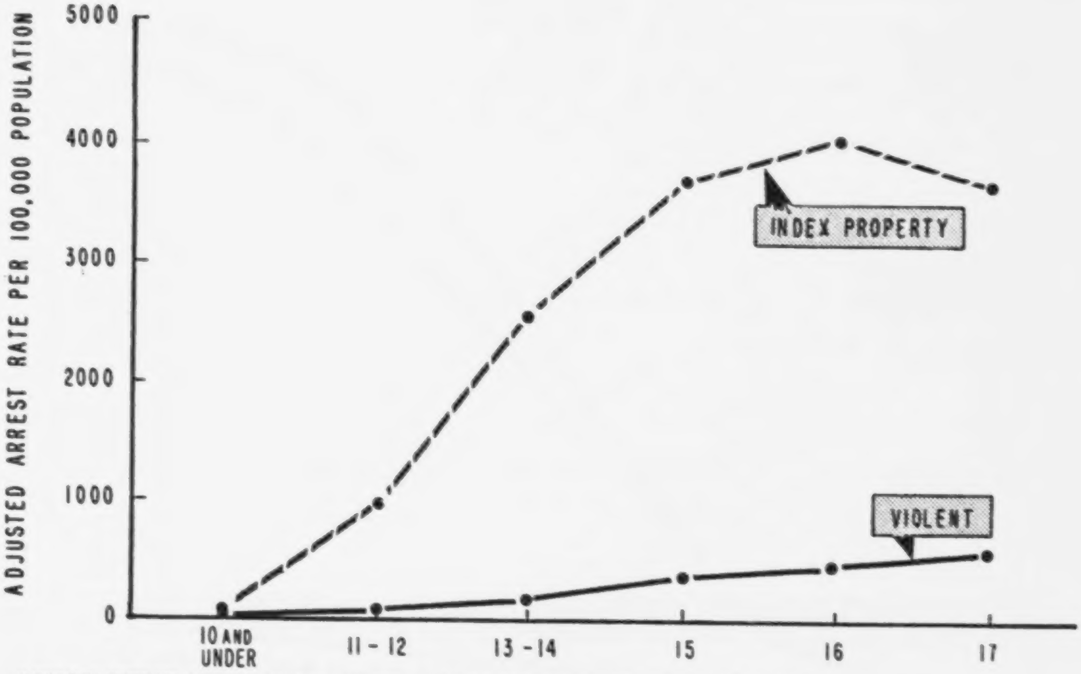
PROPORTION OF VIOLENT TO INDEX PROPERTY ARREST FREQUENCIES BY AGE (1977)

SOURCE: APPENDIX E, TABLE E-23

FIGURE IV-3

Arrest rates (1977) for the four violent offenses combined versus the three index property offenses combined are compared in Figure IV-4 below. Here it appears that index property offenses peak around age 16, while the violent offenses have not yet peaked by age 17. Thus result agrees with that of Zimring (127, pp. 17-18), who has previously noted that violent crime seems to peak around the age of 18 and may, therefore, represent an "episodic" phenomenon related more closely with young adulthood rather than juvenile age youth (see Appendix E, Table E-24, p. 336).

Recent hearings by the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency confirm these findings, noting that peak age of arrest is somewhat higher for crimes of violence than for index property offenses (117, pp. 83-84).



* VIOLENT OFFENSES INCLUDE CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT
** INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES INCLUDE BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

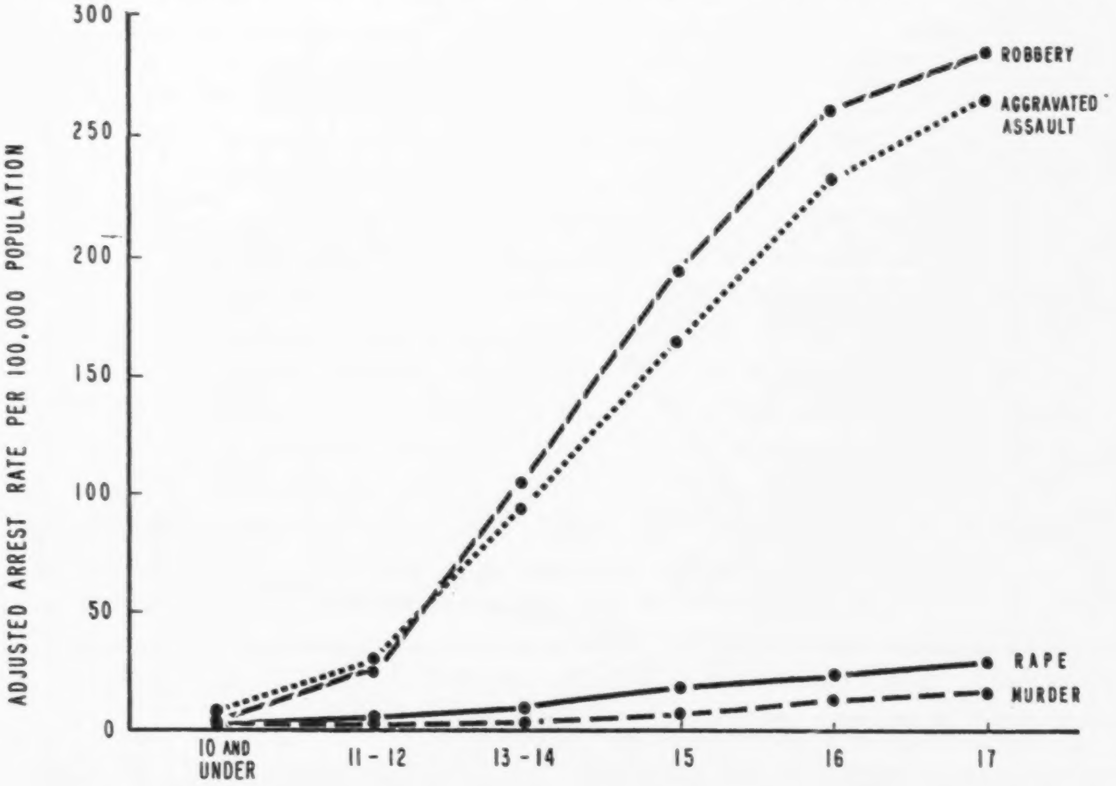
ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR VIOLENT* AND INDEX PROPERTY** OFFENSES BY AGE (1977)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-24

FIGURE IV-4

To determine whether the age distribution for individual violent offenses are different, arrest rates for these offenses by age group are displayed in Figure IV-5 below.

When arrest rates for the violent offenses are compared, two conclusions can be drawn. First, all violent offenses are similar; that is, arrest rates do not appear to have peaked by the age of 17. Secondly, robbery and assault rates increase dramatically between the 13-, 14-, and 16-year-old groups, while no such increase is apparent for rape and murder (see Appendix E, Table E-25, p. 337). These findings suggest that violent juvenile crime becomes a serious problem during adolescence but also becomes, as Zimring has indicated (127, pp. 17-18), even more prevalent during the 18-20 age period. Unfortunately, the offense label "robbery" masks any distinctions between the armed and unarmed events subsumed within this label. Since UCR does not permit this distinction, more



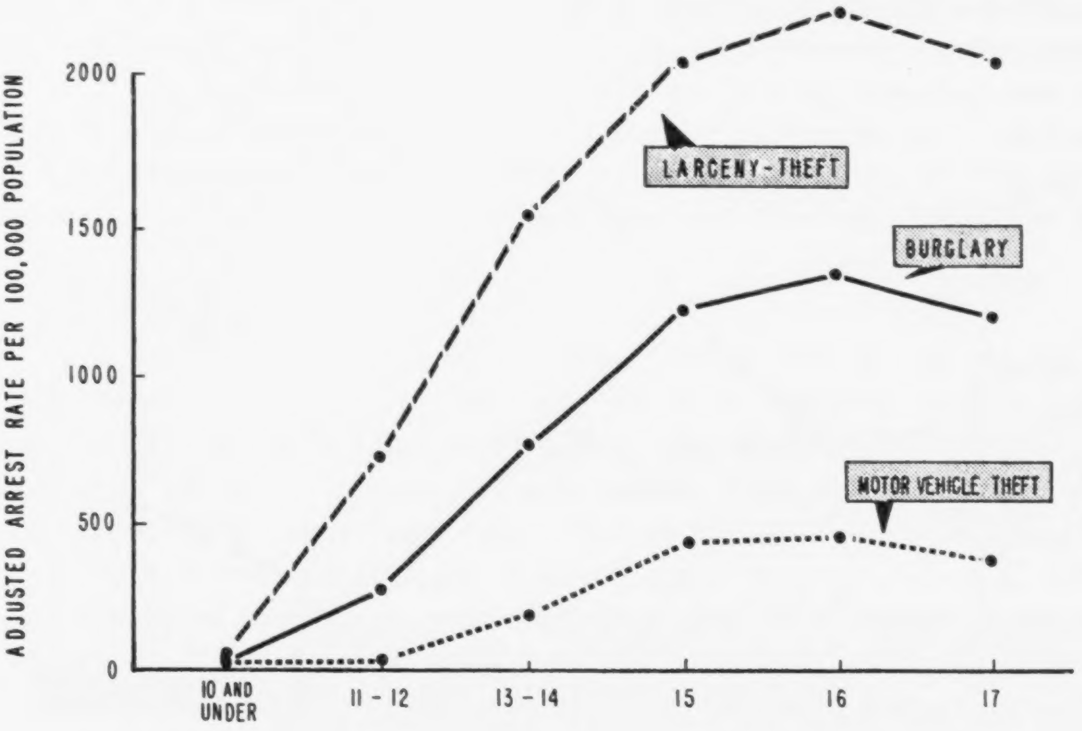
ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR THE FOUR VIOLENT OFFENSES BY AGE (1977)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-25

FIGURE IV-5

interesting analyses of this data, such as the determination of whether juvenile robbery is at the less serious end of the scale, are not possible.

Figure IV-6 below indicates (1) the national arrest rate for the individual index property offenses varies substantially, and (2) the peak age for all three offense types appears to be about 16 years of age. The age distribution for the three index property offenses is quite similar to that for the violent offenses although somewhat younger (see Appendix E, Table E-26, p. 338).

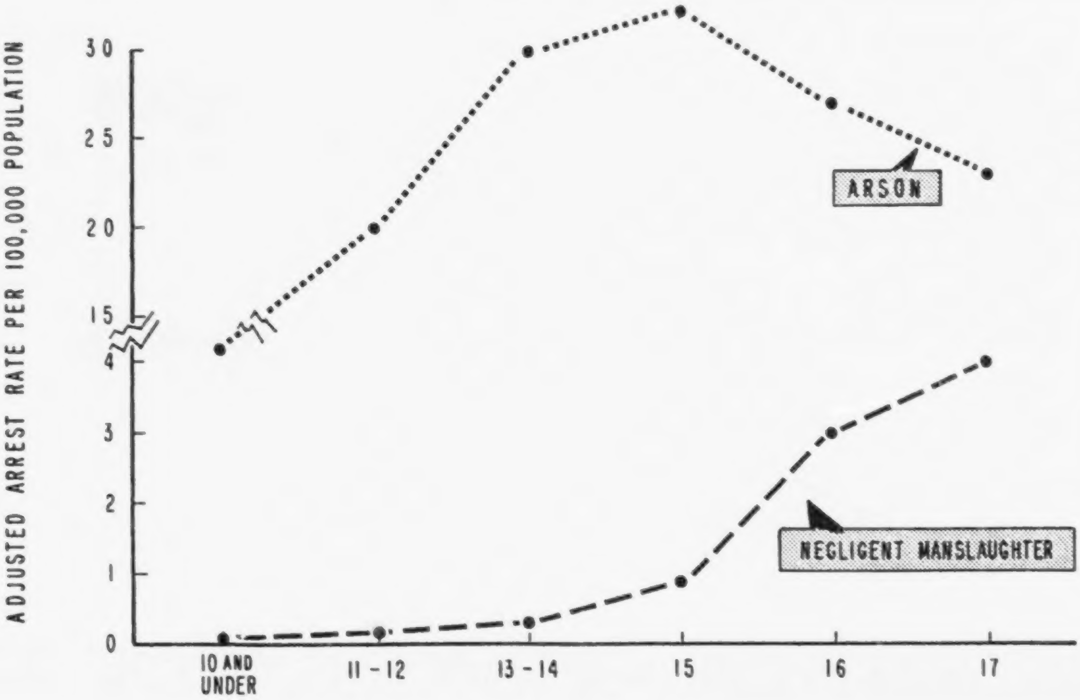


ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR THE THREE INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES BY AGE (1977)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-26

FIGURE IV-6

Arrest rates and age distributions for the crimes of arson and negligent manslaughter were examined, since these offenses could be considered "serious" based on the Sellin-Wolfgang Scale (Figure IV-7 below). While arrest rates for arson peak at 15, rates for negligent manslaughter have not yet peaked at age 17 (see Appendix E, Table E-27, p. 339). Unfortunately, negligent manslaughter is an ambiguous offense category, defined in the Uniform Crime Reports as involving "gross negligence." Therefore, the label includes vehicular manslaughter and other negligent offenses, the relative proportions of which may vary among reporting States. Therefore, as a composite offense definition, this label should be viewed with caution.



ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR THE CRIMES OF ARSON AND NEGLIGENT MANSLAUGHTER BY AGE (1977)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-27

FIGURE IV-7

The results of this secondary analysis suggest that the index property crimes, as Zimring notes, are more the "province of the young," (in this case juvenile) than violent offenses. This was also born out in Chapter I, which noted that the age distributions of the index property crimes are much more weighted towards juvenile age youth than are the violent offenses.

In order to generalize these findings to serious juvenile crime, two assumptions must be made: (1) that index violent crimes are more serious than index property crimes, and (2) that the nature of individual index offense types does not vary between age groups (e.g., robbery committed by a 13-year-old is similar in severity to that committed by a 16-year-old). The first assumption is relatively safe, while the second is made with less confidence. However, accepting both as being accurate, it can be concluded that in general, the crimes for which juveniles are arrested tend to become more serious with increasing age. While the less serious (property) crimes are the province of young juveniles, the more serious (violent) ones are not.

National Trends: Age

The second and third major questions pertinent to the specific age of the offender involve the comparisons of specific juvenile age and crime rate distributions over time. For example, if evidence exists that juvenile robbers are now younger than ten years ago, or rapists are older, this information may be helpful in identifying future program and research responsibilities.

A review of the literature has noted that most studies analyze arrest rates for the major age groups over several years. The National Commission of the Causes and Prevention of Violence, for example (60), computed arrest rates for age groups 10-14, 15-17, 18-24, 25+, and all ages combined for years 1958 through 1967. It may be informative to expand this kind of comparison to more recent years, but based upon juvenile age-specific considerations (Uniform Crime Reports data permitting).*

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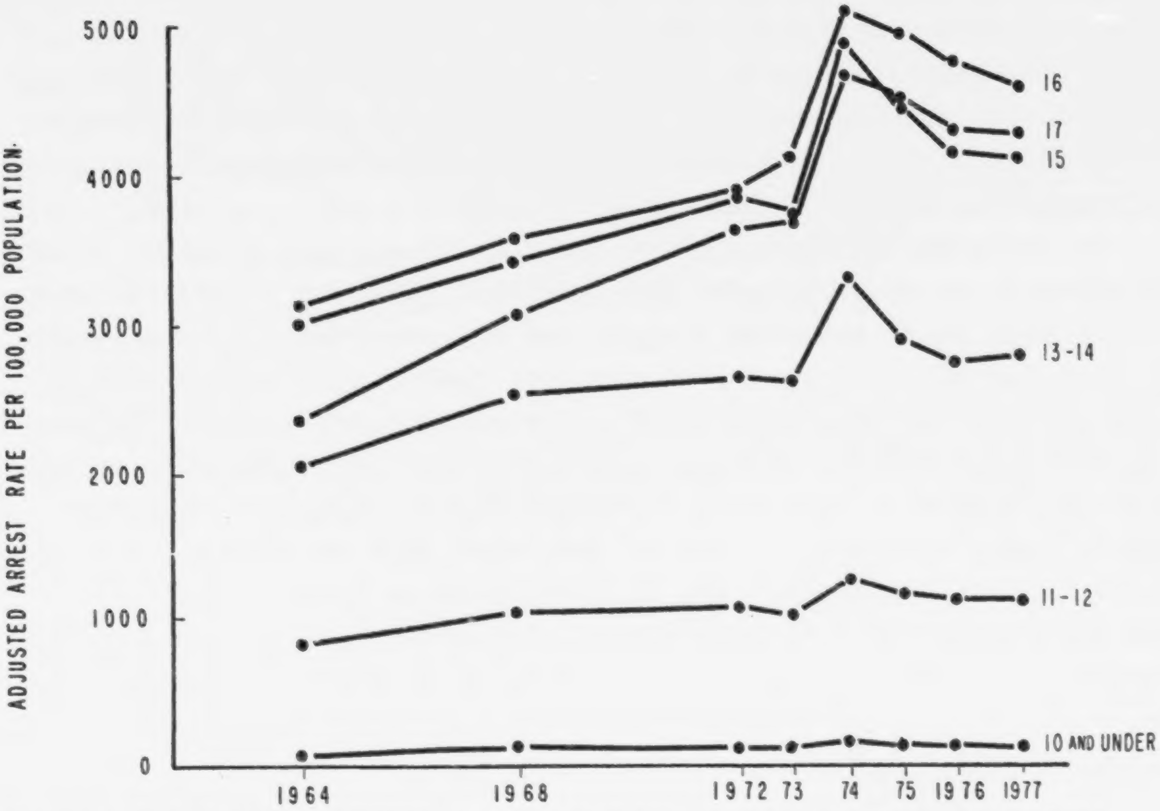
*The reader is referred to Appendix C (pp. 304-305) for a discussion of the methods used in computing arrest rates. One note of caution must be made, however. Rate trends in this section were only computed for 1964, 1968, and 1972 through 1977, possibly masking yearly fluctuations within these intervals.



*- MURDER, RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

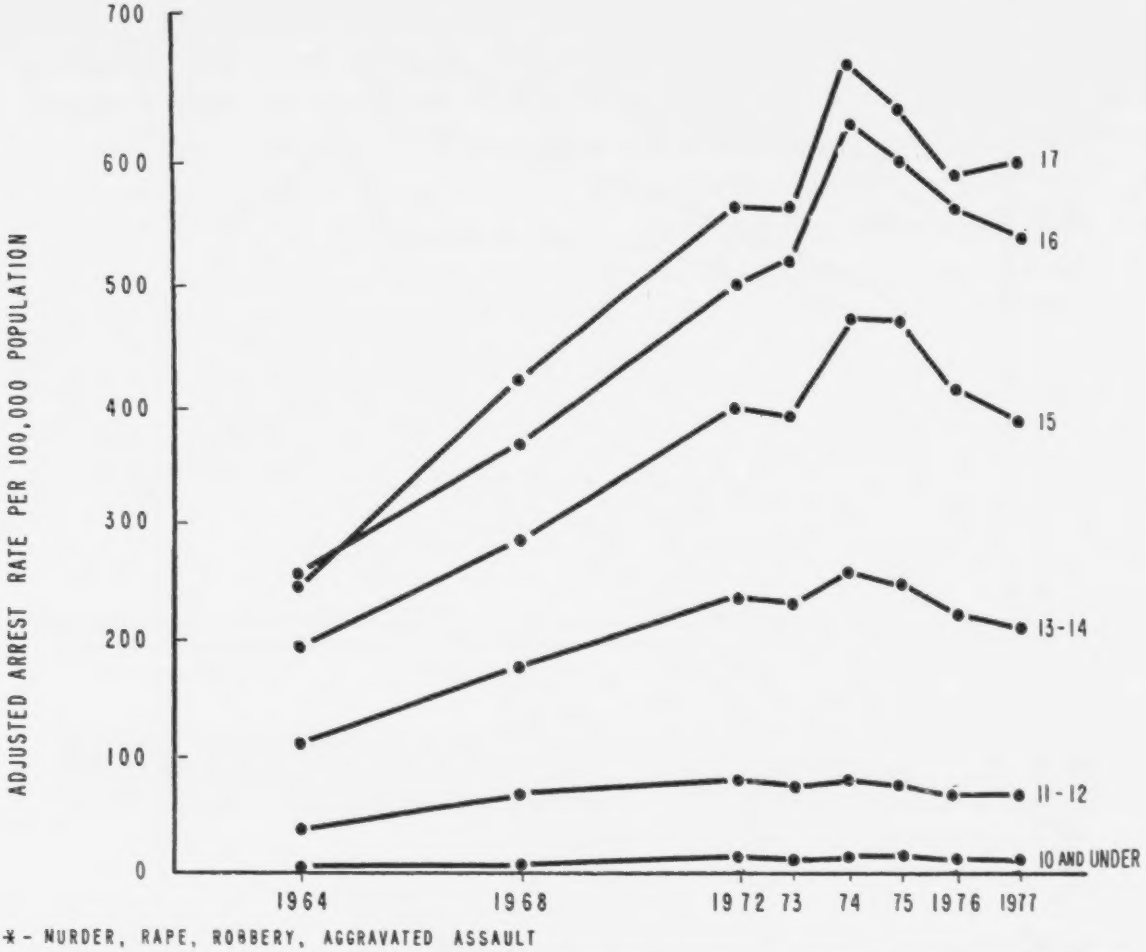
ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR COMBINED INDEX OFFENSES* BY SPECIFIC JUVENILE AGE (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: APPENDIX E, TABLE E-28

FIGURE IV-8

Figure IV-8 above indicates that the juvenile age distribution for index offenses combined has fluctuated during the 1970's. Apparent also in this figure is the rate decrease between 1974 and 1977 for all juvenile age groups, implying that juvenile index crime may be leveling off or declining (see Appendix E, Table E-28, p. 340).

Figures IV-9 (p. 159 and IV-10 (p. 160) provide evidence that 15-, 16- and 17-year-olds account for most of the yearly variations in violent and index property crime among juveniles (see Appendix E, Tables E-29 and E-30, pp. 341-342). Of particular interest in each of these figures is the general increase for both the violent and property indices for all juvenile age groups between 1964 and 1974, followed by a decline of rates between 1974 and 1977.

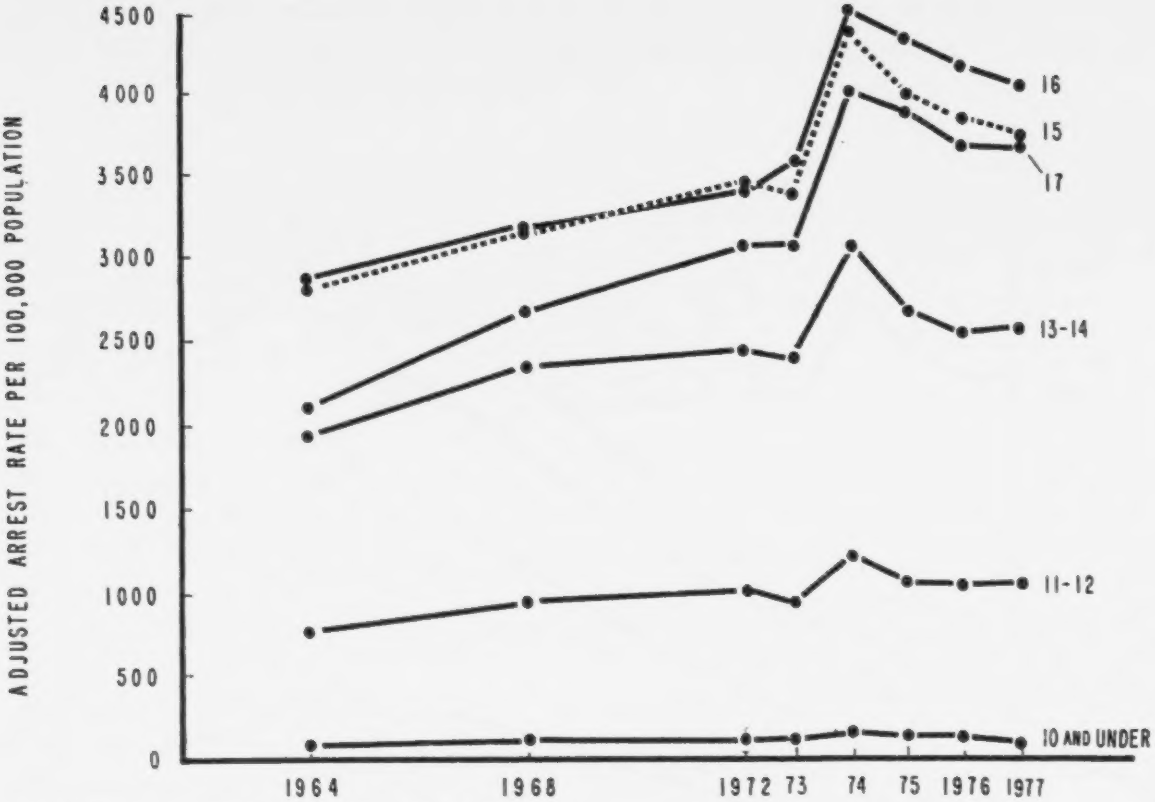


*- MURDER, RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR COMBINED VIOLENT OFFENSES* BY SPECIFIC JUVENILE AGE (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-29

FIGURE IV-9



* - BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

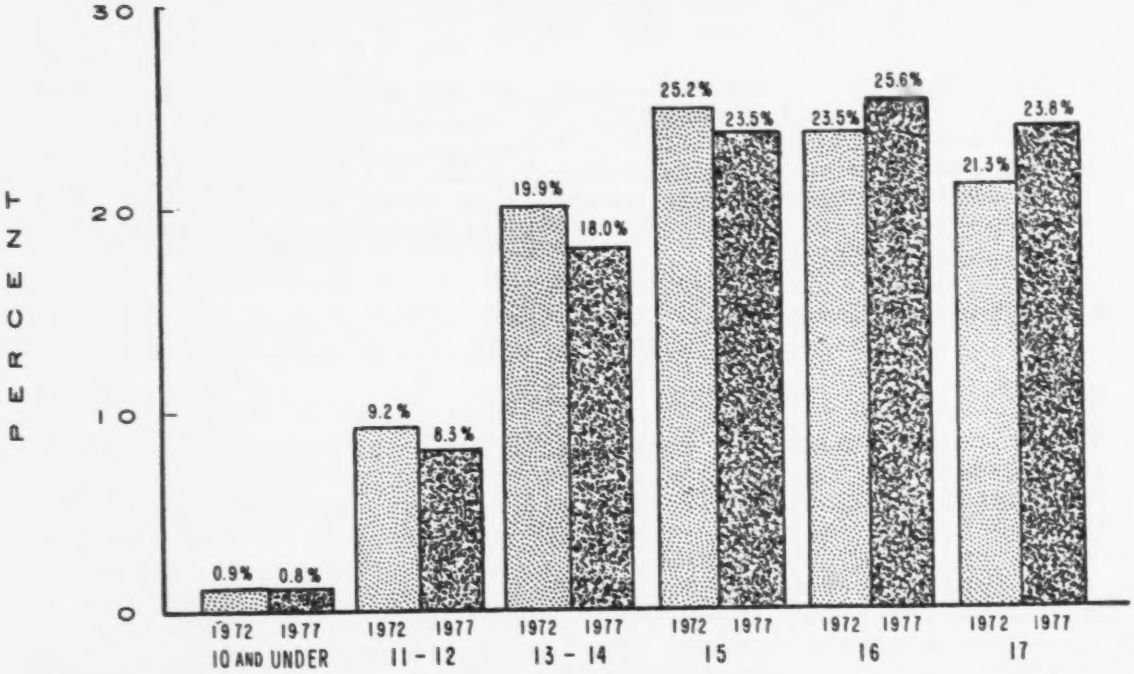
ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES FOR COMBINED INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES* BY SPECIFIC JUVENILE AGE (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-30

FIGURE IV-10

Referring to Appendix E, Table 30 (p. 342), one predominant pattern applies to all age groups for each of the index offenses except motor vehicle theft: arrest rates generally increased between 1964 and 1974, then gradually declined or stabilized from 1975 to 1977. For robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, and larceny-theft, the absolute magnitude of arrest rates has increased more substantially among 16- and 17-year-olds than among the younger age groups between 1964 and 1977. During the same fourteen-year period, arrest rates for motor vehicle theft have remained relatively stable among those persons 10 and under, and 11-12, while declining substantially among the older age groups (13-14, 15-, 16-, and 17-year-olds).

The arrest rate for combined index property offenses exhibited a net increase between 1972 and 1977. Since larceny-theft accounted for most of this increase, a percentage comparison of larceny-theft by specific juvenile age groups was computed (Figure IV-11 below). This figure indicates that younger juveniles were involved in a smaller percentage of the arrests for larceny-theft in 1977 than in 1972, while older juveniles were involved in a larger percentage. This age shift may or may not be indicative of a future trend.



COMPARISON OF NATIONAL PERCENT DISTRIBUTION FOR LARCENY-THEFT ADJUSTED ARREST RATES BY SPECIFIC AGE (1972 AND 1977)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-32

FIGURE IV-11

According to Table IV-1 (p. 163), the median* age for robbery, aggravated assault, larceny-theft, and arson offenses appears to be increasing, while that for negligent manslaughter is decreasing (98, p. 108; 102, p. 115; 106, p. 126; and 110, p. 181). Without a more sophisticated analysis, however, it is impossible to say how much of these shifts are due to population fluctuations and related trends, i.e., the United States population is "getting older."

Conclusions and Discussion

- A comparison of the proportion of index to non-index offenses for 1977 indicates that index crimes constitute proportionately less of all criminal offenses as juvenile age increases. Also, the proportion of index to non-index offenses for each age group has remained generally stable from 1964 to 1977. The exception to this is for the year 1976, when 16- and 17-year-olds committed a somewhat greater proportion of index to non-index offenses than in 1972.
- An assessment of which crimes are the province of the juvenile (11-17-year-olds) required a comparison of age distributions for each index offense (based on 1977 Uniform Crime Reports data). Results indicate that 11-17-year-olds are heavily represented in one violent crime (robbery) and all index property offenses (burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft).
- A study of index crime rates (per juvenile age) for 1977 indicates that arrests for all violent offenses (separate

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*Two alternate measures were used. One was the identification of peak or modal age based upon arrest rates. The second involved the computation of quartiles (.25, .50 [median], and .75) based upon arrest frequencies. Neither is totally satisfactory or complementary, since modal age is a poor measure of a distribution, while median based upon frequencies cannot take population shifts into account. Ideally, time permitting, mean ages could have been adjusted via covariance procedures which can take population changes into account. Unfortunately, this may not be possible, since UCR does not break down the 10 and under, 11-12, 13-14 age categories in their annual reports, making mean computation a cruder estimate than median and quartiles. For a more complete description of these procedures, refer to Appendix C (p. 301). Also, peak or modal rate age is too broad a characterization to note subtle shifts of age. Median age, on the other hand, is a more precise measure but loses precision when applied to nonequivalent grouped ages and cannot take population shifts into account. Until analyses like that noted above can be undertaken, the figures reported in Table IV-1 have limited implications.

TABLE IV-1

NATIONAL PEAK*(MODAL) AND MEDIAN**JUVENILE AGE FOR DIFFERENT INDEX OFFENSE CLASSIFICATIONS (SELECTED YEARS, 1964-76)

	1964		1968		1972		1976	
	PEAK	MEDIAN	PEAK	MEDIAN	PEAK	MEDIAN	PEAK	MEDIAN
INDEX(1)	16	14.8	16	14.7	15	15.0	16	15.1
NON-INDEX(2)	17	15.4	17	15.4	17	15.4	17	15.6
VIOLENT(3)	16	15.5	17	15.4	17	15.4	17	15.6
MURDER	17	16.0	17	16.1	17	16.2	17	16.1
RAPE	17	15.9	17	16.0	17	15.8	17	15.8
ROBBERY	16	15.3	17	15.3	17	15.4	17	15.6
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	16	15.5	17	15.4	17	15.4	17	15.6
PROPERTY(4)	16	14.7	16	14.6	15	14.4	16	15.0
BURGLARY	16	14.7	16	14.6	15	14.9	16	15.1
LARCENY-THEFT	16	14.4	16	14.3	15	14.5	16	14.9
MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	15	15.4	16	15.4	16	15.4	16	15.5
ARSON	13-14	12.3	13-14	13.0	13-14	12.8	15	13.7
NEGLIGENT MANSLAUGHTER	17	16.7	17	16.5	17	16.4	17	16.3

* - PEAK AGE - BASED UPON RATE OF ARREST PER 100,000 JUVENILE POPULATION

** - MEDIAN AGE - BASED UPON ARREST FREQUENCIES

(1)- CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

(2)- OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS CRIMES, AND ALL OTHER OFFENSES

(3)- CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

(4)- BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

SOURCES: 98, P. 108; 102, P. 115; 106, P. 126; 110, P. 181

and in combination) do not peak during the juvenile years. However, property arrests do appear to peak around age 16 and then decline through the age of 17.

- Comparison of crime and age specific arrest rates from 1964 to 1977 indicates: (1) arrest rates for every age group and for all of the index offenses except motor vehicle theft, increased between 1964 and 1974, then declined or stabilized from 1975 to 1977; (2) arrest rates have increased more dramatically among 16- and 17-year-olds than among the younger age groups for the offenses of robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, and larceny-theft; (3) arrest rates for motor vehicle theft are either stable or declining for all age groups between 1964 and 1977.

- Preliminary indications suggest that juveniles arrested for index property offenses are somewhat older as measured by median frequency and peak rate age in 1976 than in previous years. This suggests that there may be an "age shift" in progress; that is, index property offenders (burglary and larceny-theft) are becoming "somewhat older," while violent juvenile arrest age proportions are remaining generally stable.

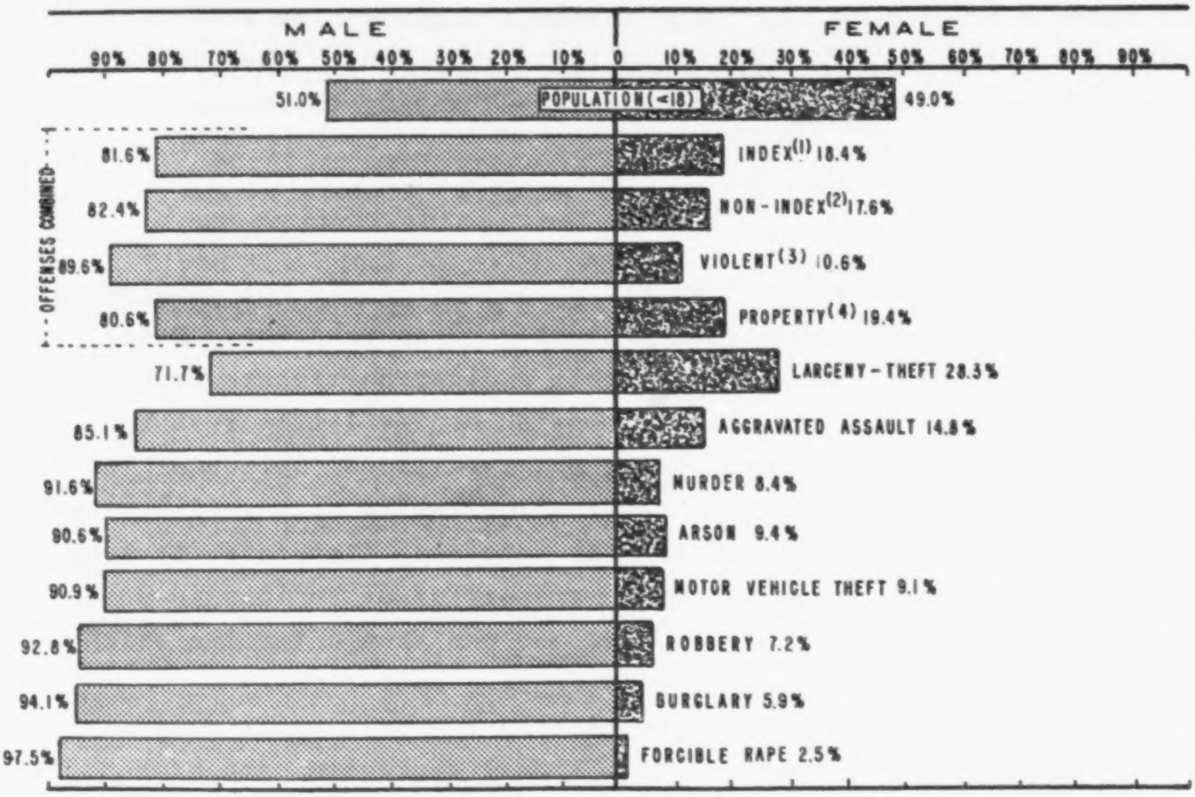
Given the numerous inadequacies and questions regarding Uniform Crime Reports data, the single most striking finding to emerge from this section is the increasingly large role that 16- and 17-year-old juveniles are playing in robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, and larceny-theft. First, it was noted that a greater proportion of juvenile age arrests in the 16- and 17-year-old age groups was found in 1977 than in 1964. One may question whether juvenile crime is really becoming the province of a slightly older age group, the young adult. It is probably no coincidence that Zimring (129, 131) deals in his studies with youth, since these national data suggest that arrests for several offenses included within serious crime are "getting older." However, in relation to robbery, something else can be suggested. This assessment found that while the median age of juveniles arrested for this offense is increasing, the median age of all persons arrested has dropped from 22.6 to 19.7 years (1964-1976). Obviously, the increasing proportion of juvenile arrests in this offense category is resulting in a "younger" median age. These findings combined with those in Chapter II (pp. 109-113) suggest that juvenile crime may be becoming youth crime. That is, the "gray area" between juvenile jurisdiction (under 18) and adulthood (21 and above) may increasingly account for greater amounts of criminality. This again was suggested by several findings: (1) the disproportionately great increase (1964-1976) of arrest rates among 16- and 17-year-olds for the crimes of robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, and larceny-theft; (2) a related and expected shift of the age distribution for these offenses; and (3) the steady shift downward (1964-1976) of median arrest age for robbery, even though the population is "getting older." The implications here are several and involve the jurisdictional considerations regarding the ages 18 to 20. If, as these findings suggest, the major crime producing years are becoming this "gray area," then the future implications of "juvenile" may be changing to "young adult."

Sex

Sexual affiliation or "gender" of juveniles has not usually been recognized as an important indicator of youth crime. Other than the presumption that males commit a disproportionate amount of crime, the issue of sexual affiliation evokes little response. Self-report sources are questioning the traditional notion of the female as a person with little inclination toward either violent or index property crimes. It is of some interest, therefore, to look first at the current male to female proportion of serious juvenile crime. In the same sequence as age, one can then determine which, if any, offense arrest rates are increasing over time.

The Uniform Crime Reports represents the only major data source permitting a comparison of national aggregate data broken down by age, sex, and offense. A comparison of the proportions of individual index offense classifications attributed to either sex for 1977 is presented as Figure IV-12, p. 166 (see Appendix E, Table E-33, p. 345 for sources).

The proportion of female to male arrests is far less than their proportion of the total juvenile population. Only for the offense category of larceny-theft is the proportion of female to male arrests at all similar to their proportion of the population. As Zimring notes (131, p. 32), police may arrest fewer girls, although some self-report studies have indicated that the true proportion of male to female crime is much closer than suggested by official sources.



(1)- CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
(2)- OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS CRIMES AND ALL OTHER CRIMINAL OFFENSES
(3)- CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT
(4)- BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

PROPORTION OF MALE TO FEMALE NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST FREQUENCIES BY TYPE OF INDEX OFFENSE (1977)

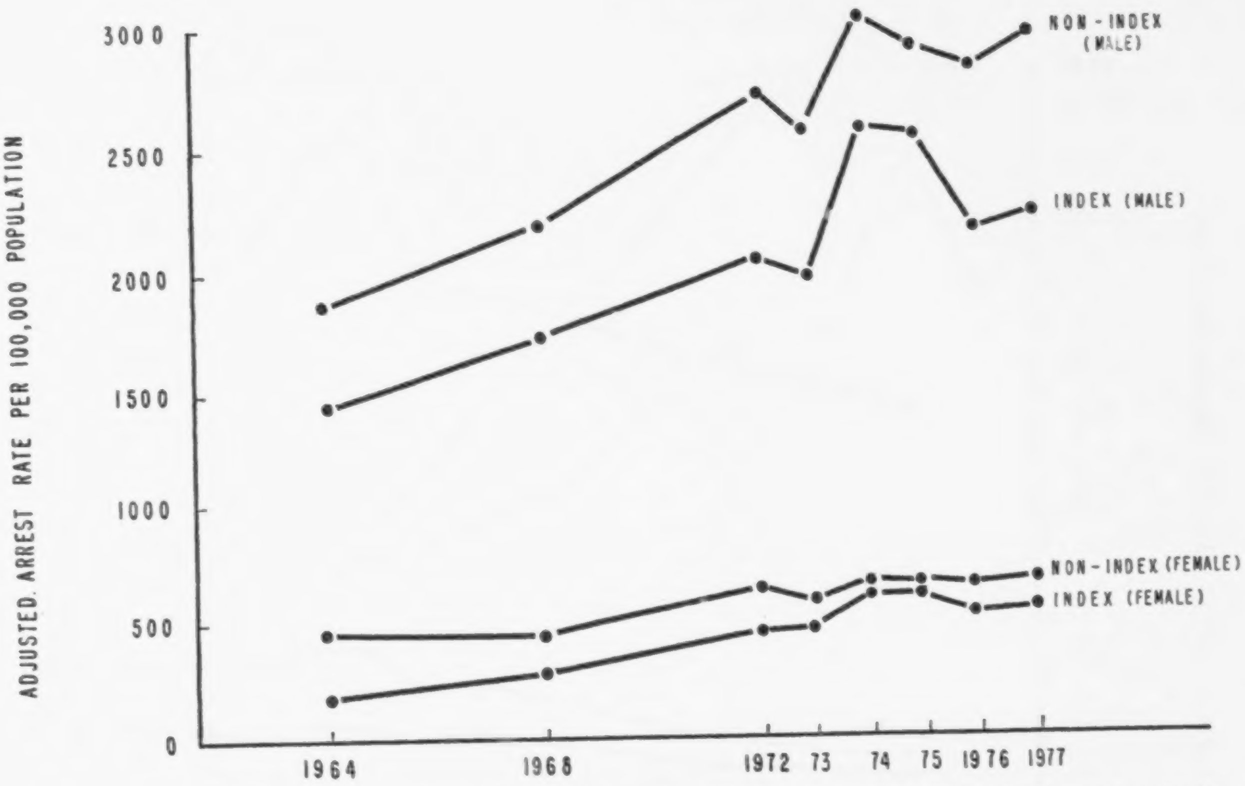
SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-33

FIGURE IV-12

National Trends: Sex

In assessing aggregate trends of serious juvenile crimes by sex, little of a current nature is available. Most of what is available is based upon the Uniform Crime Reports and self-report studies (41,42) which are either too dated or can only be tentatively generalized to the national level.

A comparison of arrest rates for index offenses combined (Figure IV-13 below) suggests that index and non-index crime is either decreasing or stabilizing for both males and females from 1974 to the present. However, index offense arrest rates for males have almost doubled from 1964 to 1977, while those for females have almost tripled in the same period (see Appendix E, Table E-34, p. 346 for sources).



* - CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

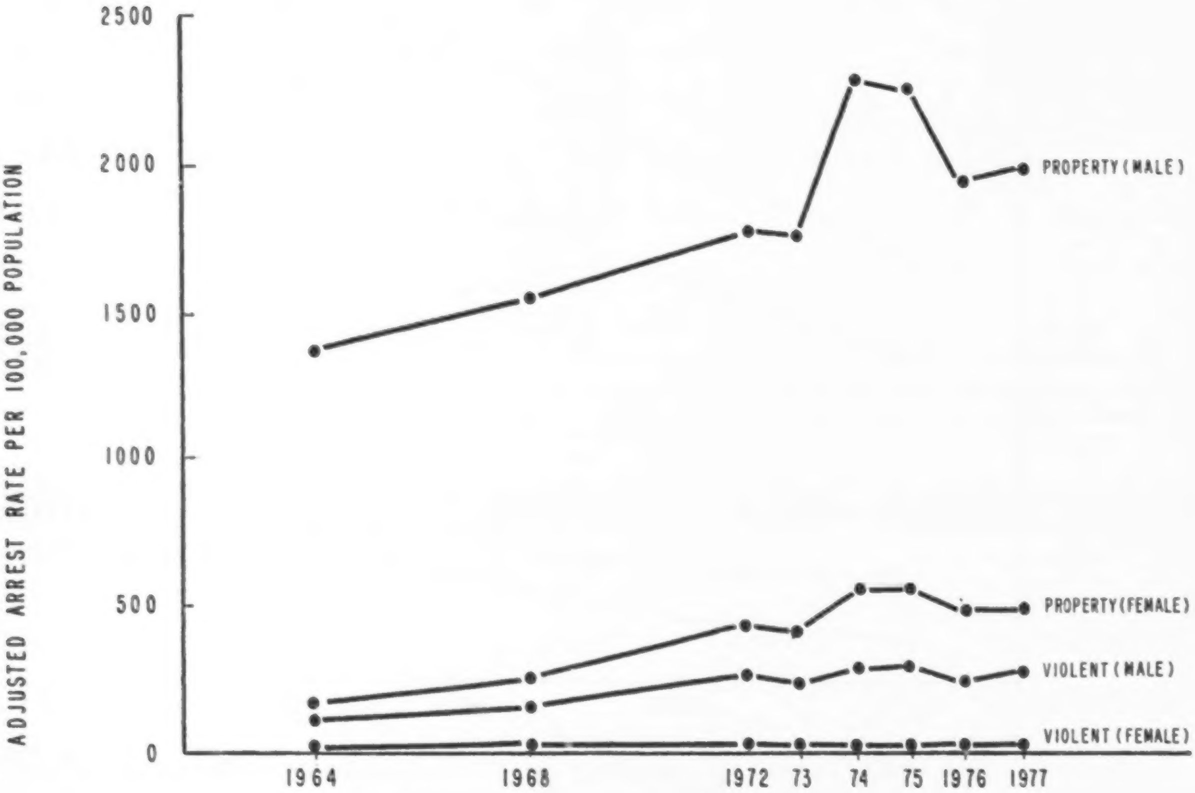
** - OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS CRIME, AND ALL OTHER CRIMINAL OFFENSES

ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES FOR INDEX* VERSUS NON-INDEX** OFFENSES (COMBINED): MALE AND FEMALE (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-34

FIGURE IV-13

Breaking down the index offenses into violent versus property offenses combined (Figure IV-14, below) suggests that from 1964 to 1977, property arrest rates for both sexes have increased more substantially in terms of absolute magnitude than have arrest rates for violent offenses. Also, as noted in previous sections, violent and index property arrests for both sexes are moderating or decreasing from the years 1974 through 1977 (see Appendix E, Table E-35, p. 347).



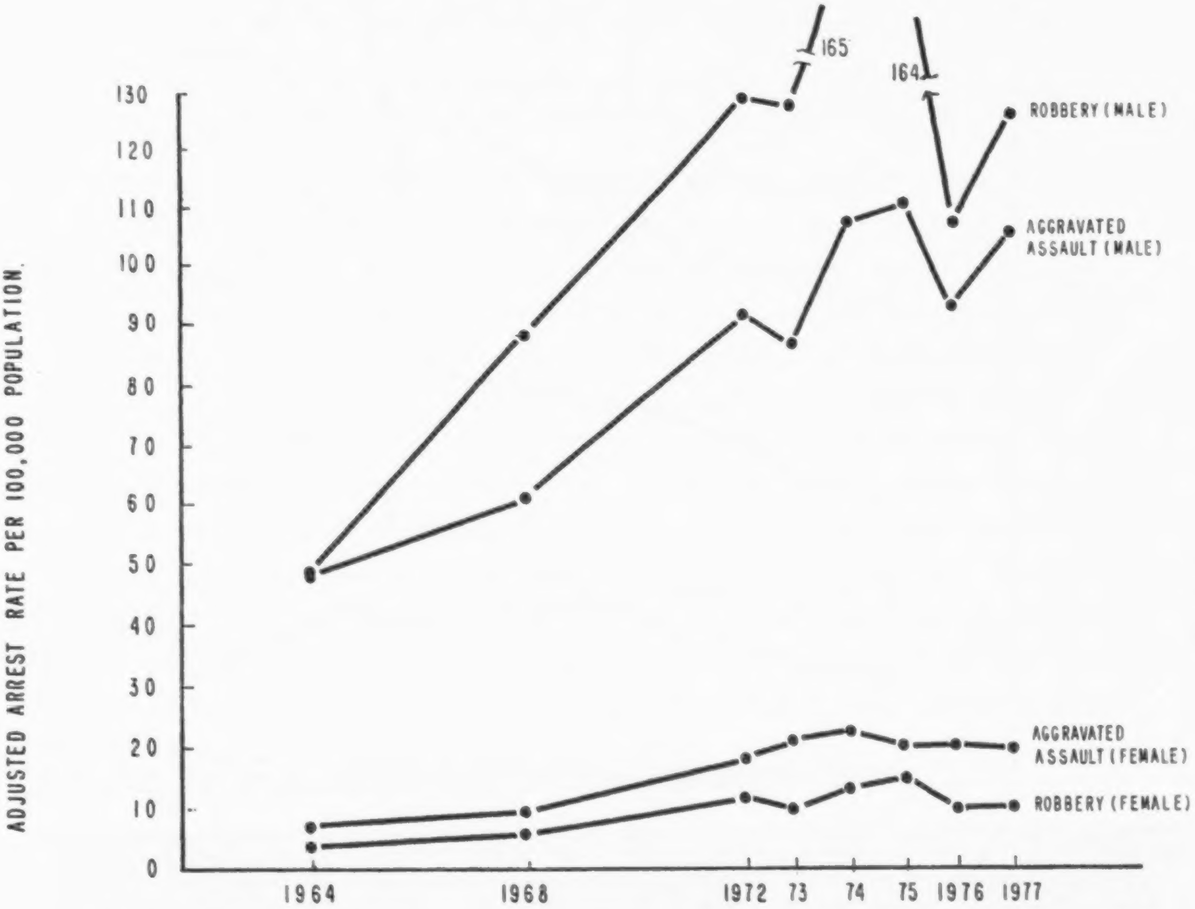
* - CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT
** - BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES FOR VIOLENT* VERSUS INDEX PROPERTY** OFFENSES (COMBINED): MALE AND FEMALE (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-35

FIGURE IV-14

A comparison of robbery and aggravated assault* for both sexes suggests that males, as expected, account for most of the arrests for these offenses (Figure IV-15, below; see Appendix E, Table 36, p. 348 for sources). Comparisons of arrest rates for the three index property offenses (Figure IV-16, p. 170) depicts a fairly stable female arrest rate for motor vehicle theft, accompanied by a decreasing male arrest rate for this same offense. With



ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES FOR ROBBERY AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT: MALE AND FEMALE (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-36

FIGURE IV-15

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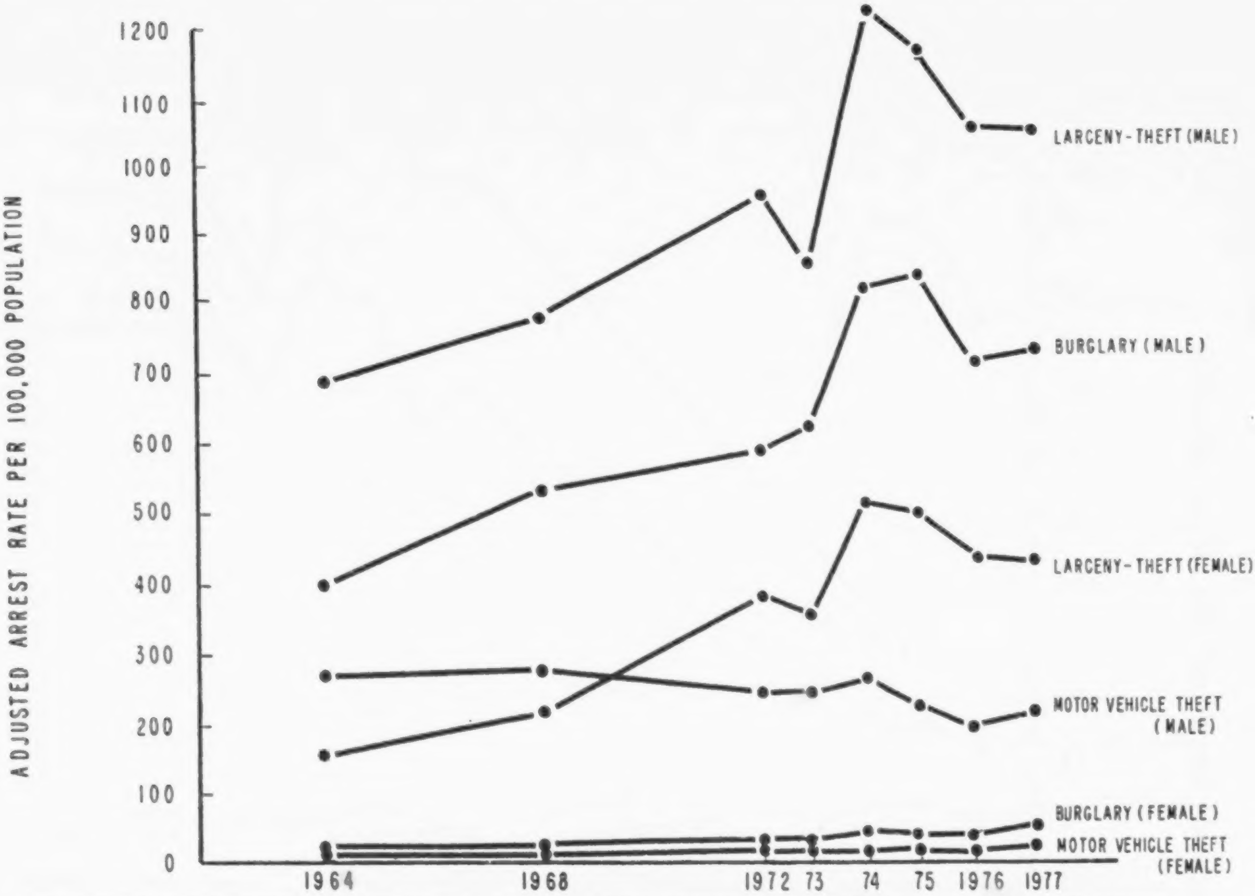
*Murder was not included due to little change in rates for both sexes. Forcible rape was not included since the current UCR definition is the carnal knowledge of a female against her will.

the exception of the larceny-theft arrest rate, there are few dramatic indications of increases in arrests for females. Males are more heavily represented in most major juvenile crime increases through 1974 while rates for both sexes are generally declining since then (see Appendix E, Table 37, p. 349).



ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES FOR BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT: MALE AND FEMALE (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-37

FIGURE IV-16

Conclusion and Discussion

- Based upon 1977 Uniform Crime Reports data, females commit a much smaller proportion of index crime than would be expected based on their proportion to the total U.S. juvenile population.
- Moderate female rate increases for the crimes of aggravated assault, larceny-theft, burglary, and motor vehicle theft are noted for the years from 1964 to 1974, followed by decreases from 1975 to 1977. While this does not indicate that females are committing a greater proportion of index juvenile crime, it does suggest that female arrest rates are decreasing over the period 1975-1977.
- For both male and female juveniles, arrest rates for each of the specific index offenses are stabilizing or declining between 1974 and 1977.

These findings should be considered in light of the limitations of Uniform Crime Reports information. Also, self-report studies such as those of Gold (41) and Miller (58) have suggested that females commit a greater proportion of crime than indicated by official statistics. While these self-report studies tend to confirm Zimring's concept of a "chivalrous" attitude towards females, it seems unlikely that this chivalry would extend to the more serious index crimes. Also, these self-report studies, while an important alternative to official statistics, may not (because of sampling limitations) be serious contenders to official statistics. For example, Gold and Reimer (41, pp. 492-297) note little change in offense seriousness for males and females for the years 1967-1972. Unfortunately, these results are based upon a sample of only 376 (1967) and 245 (1972) females. In conclusion, there is little indication to rival the suggestion that juvenile females commit disproportionately fewer index offenses, and presumably serious offenses, than juvenile males.

Race

Attempts to characterize serious juvenile offenders or arrestees on the basis of "racial" considerations should consider numerous confounding aspects. Unlike exploring the relationship between juvenile age and serious crime (with implications to maturity and adolescent development), race and serious juvenile crime evokes more confusion and controversy than insight. Applied definitions of race often represent superficial "homogeneous" units which typically do not consider cultural lineage, origin, and sub-racial "ethnic" considerations (123, pp. 47-50). In effect categorizations such as Caucasian, black, and Mexican-American represent a crude form of classification. Moreover, injustice to individuals within these broad categories may not stop here. Inadequate consideration of urbanization, socioeconomic indices, cultural values, intelligence functioning, and educational achievement, as well as issues of denied opportunity, can result in misleading or erroneous study conclusions. It is well known, for example, that socioeconomic status (SES) and race are highly interrelated, implying that study results attributable to race could also be in some part attributable to SES (123, pp. 47-50).

Statistical preselection, visibility, and police presence can result in arrest frequencies for racial groups which may not reflect the actual volume of criminal activity for those groups (123, pp. 47-50). Also, the issue of racial concentration (urbanization) is important since it is unknown whether any racial group living in concentrated ghetto areas might produce similar levels of crime currently attributable to blacks. The issue here may not be entirely race, but rather that any extreme concentration of humanity with similar economic prospects will produce similar levels of crime.

Given these concerns, the Uniform Crime Reports represents the only current national source of information allowing consideration of offense type by age and race. The racial categories used by Uniform Crime Reports are even more imprecise than usual since Mexican-Americans are combined with the white group. Combining these racial groups becomes particularly misleading when States (e.g., California, New Mexico, Texas) containing great numbers of Mexican-Americans are assessed, although such procedures may also affect the national picture.

Figure IV-17 (p. 174) depicts the proportions of black to white juvenile index crime.* While black youth below the age of 18 account for 14.8 percent of the total black and white juvenile population,** they account for a much higher proportion of index crime across all categories. According to this figure, violent juvenile crime and, to a lesser extent, index property crime are disproportionately the province of black juveniles (see Appendix E, Table E-38, p. 350). Unfortunately, these estimates lack precision for several reasons. First, it should be remembered that Mexican-Americans and whites are combined to form the UCR white category. However, the effect of this is to inflate the white proportions which may, in turn, underestimate the proportion of black to white crime. More importantly, however, caution is advised for the reasons discussed earlier. Issues like "visibility" and police presence might inflate these proportions somewhat. Unfortunately, self-report studies based upon national probability samples which might be used as confirmatory sources for Uniform Crime Reports data are not common. The data here indicates that the arrest rates for black juveniles range from 3.5 (rape) to ten (robbery) times greater than that for white juveniles, while arrest rates for index property crimes range from 1.6 (motor vehicle theft) to 2.4 (larceny-theft) times greater.

These results could be more dramatic if racial comparisons were confined to urban areas. Here, the logic of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (60) is important. In confining their assessment to urban areas, the National Commission notes: "...combining the urban with suburban and rural data would somewhat lower the rates in all categories." Other studies also restrict racial comparisons to urban areas (18, 52) noting that the urban areas typically contain most of the black population. Current information suggests that, when confined to urban areas, violent arrest rates for juveniles is greater than that reported for all areas combined (131, p. 26). At present, it seems that confining comparison to urban areas may adjust downwards the proportion of black to white arrests, but there seems little doubt that black juveniles would still account for a disproportionate amount of serious juvenile crime.

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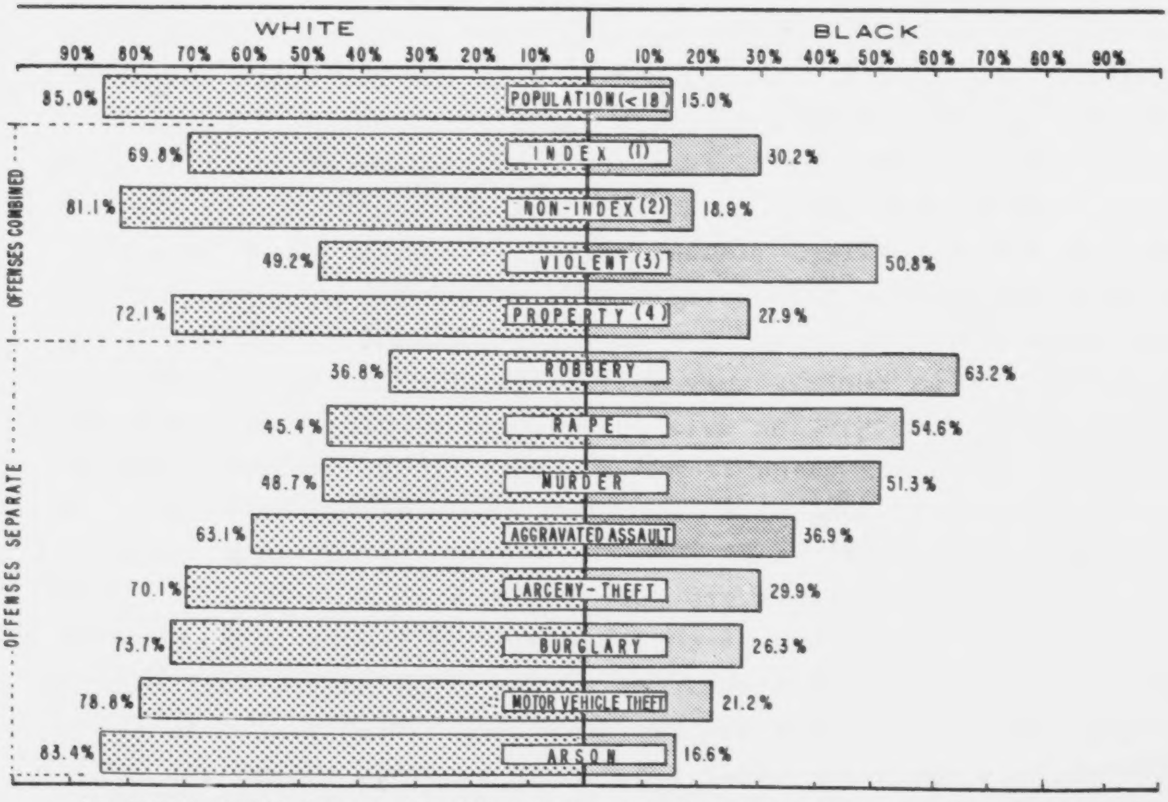
*Rates rather than frequencies were used here. Both approaches could have been used. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (60) used rates, while Dealing with Delinquency (21) used frequencies.

**Based upon estimated 1976 census data.



(1) - CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
(2) - OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS CRIMES, AND ALL OTHER CRIMINAL OFFENSES
(3) - CRIMINAL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT
(4) - BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

PROPORTION OF WHITE TO BLACK NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST FREQUENCIES BY TYPE OF INDEX OFFENSE (1977)

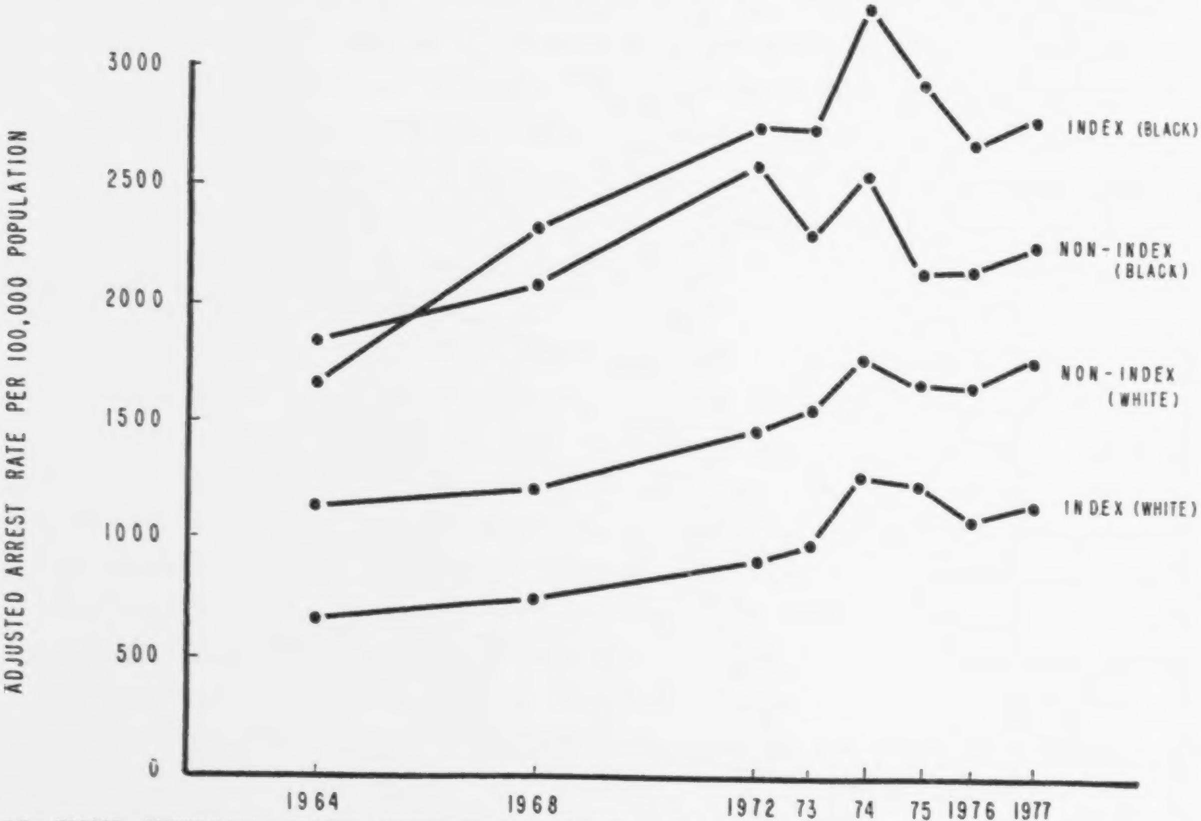
SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-38

FIGURE IV-17

National Trends: Race

Information sources or studies which permit national aggregate racial comparisons over time are limited. Self-reported studies allowing justifiable, over time generalizations to the national level are not currently available.* The National Crime Survey victimization reports provide "perceived race of offenders," but based upon results allowing only percentage comparisons, and separated according to single or multiple victimizations. As a result, the Uniform Crime Reports provide the only available source that allows any over time inferences.

A comparisons of racial arrest rates for index versus non-index offenses combined (Figure IV-18 below) suggests that the non-



** - MURDER, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
*** - OTHER ASSAULTS, FORGERY, FRAUD, EMBEZZLEMENT, VANDALISM, VICTIMLESS CRIMES, AND ALL OTHER CRIMINAL OFFENSES

ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES FOR INDEX** VERSUS NON-INDEX*** OFFENSES (COMBINED): BLACKS AND WHITES (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-39.

FIGURE IV-18

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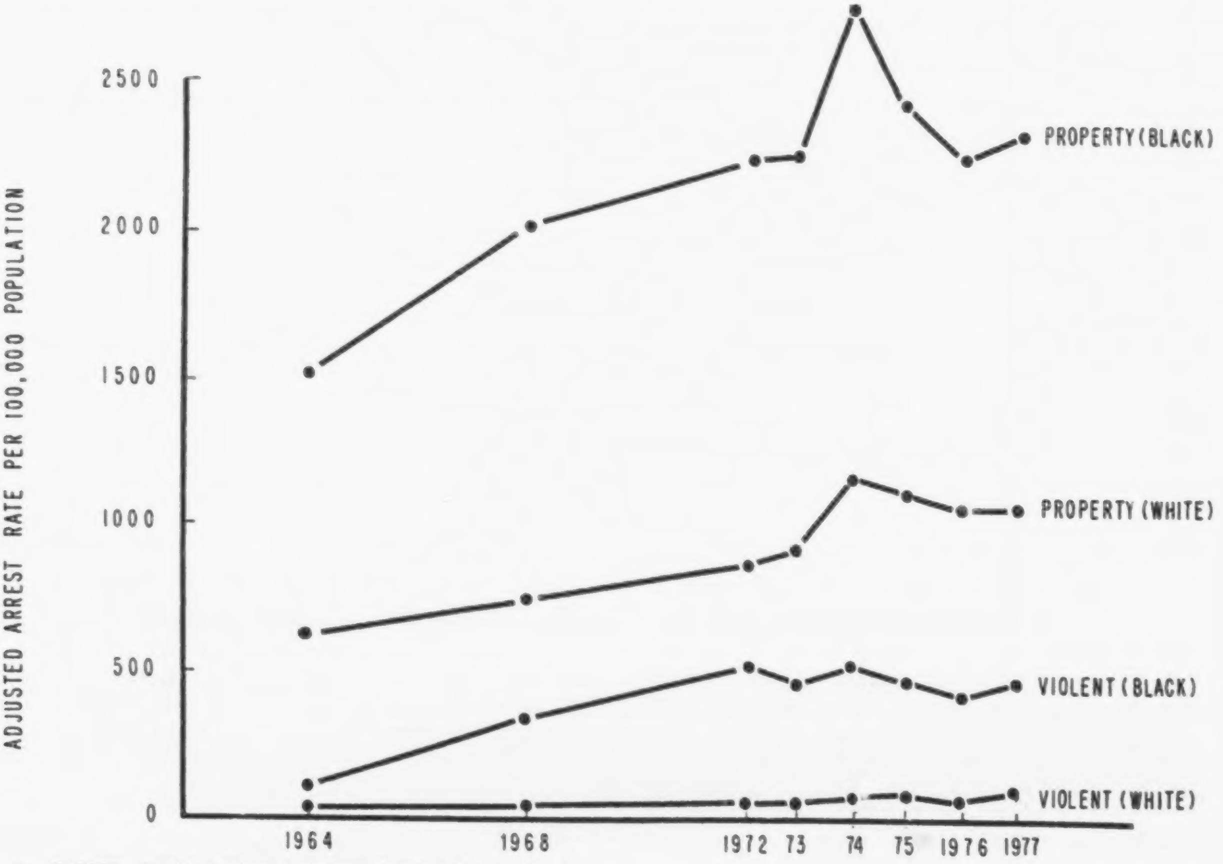
*The study by Gold and Reimer is somewhat dated, and is based upon a sample size too small for similar generalizations. It will, however, be used where possible.

index crime rate attributable to black juveniles is decreasing from 1972-1976 and then increasing from 1976 to 1977. Also, it appears that black juvenile index crime is decreasing as rapidly as white juvenile index crime for the same period (see Appendix E, Table E-40, p. 352). While another report (21, p. 77) suggests that the total crime "gap" between these racial groups may be closing, this finding indicates parallel increases between racial groups but no clear indication of a closing crime gap. Of course, since this review is not confined to urban areas, it may not provide an appropriate comparison.

A comparison of violent and property indices by race (Figure IV-19 below) suggests that from 1975 to 1977 violent crime is stabilizing for both races, while the index property arrest rate is de-



* - MURDER, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT,
** - BURLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

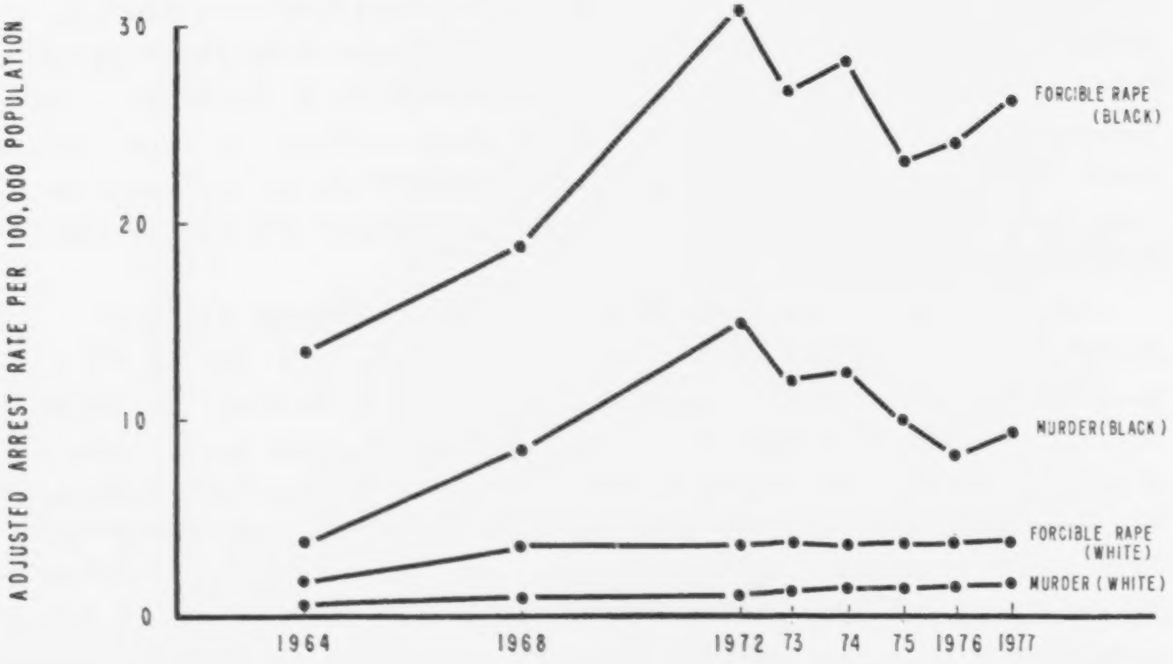
ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES FOR VIOLENT* VERSUS INDEX PROPERTY** OFFENSES (COMBINED): BLACKS AND WHITES (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-40

FIGURE IV-19

creasing at a similar pace for both white and black groups. In this case, it appears that the property arrest rate decrease for white juveniles is slightly greater than that for blacks (see Appendix E, Table E-40, p. 352). This comparison suggests several things. First, Zimring's (131, p. 32) conclusion about stabilization or decline of youth violence may be pertinent to both racial groups. However, if index property crime is considered, there is some reason to believe that its rate of decrease is more substantial for both juvenile racial groups. Thus, it appears that the overall index of serious juvenile crime is not "splitting," that is, index property crime attributed to juveniles of both races is decreasing at a similar rate. Current trends suggest that the decrease of black juvenile arrests for index property crime may, if continued, stabilize both indexes for both racial groups. Also, this information suggests that black index property arrests may have "peaked" at an earlier time than that for whites, while arrest rates for both groups are stabilizing or declining.

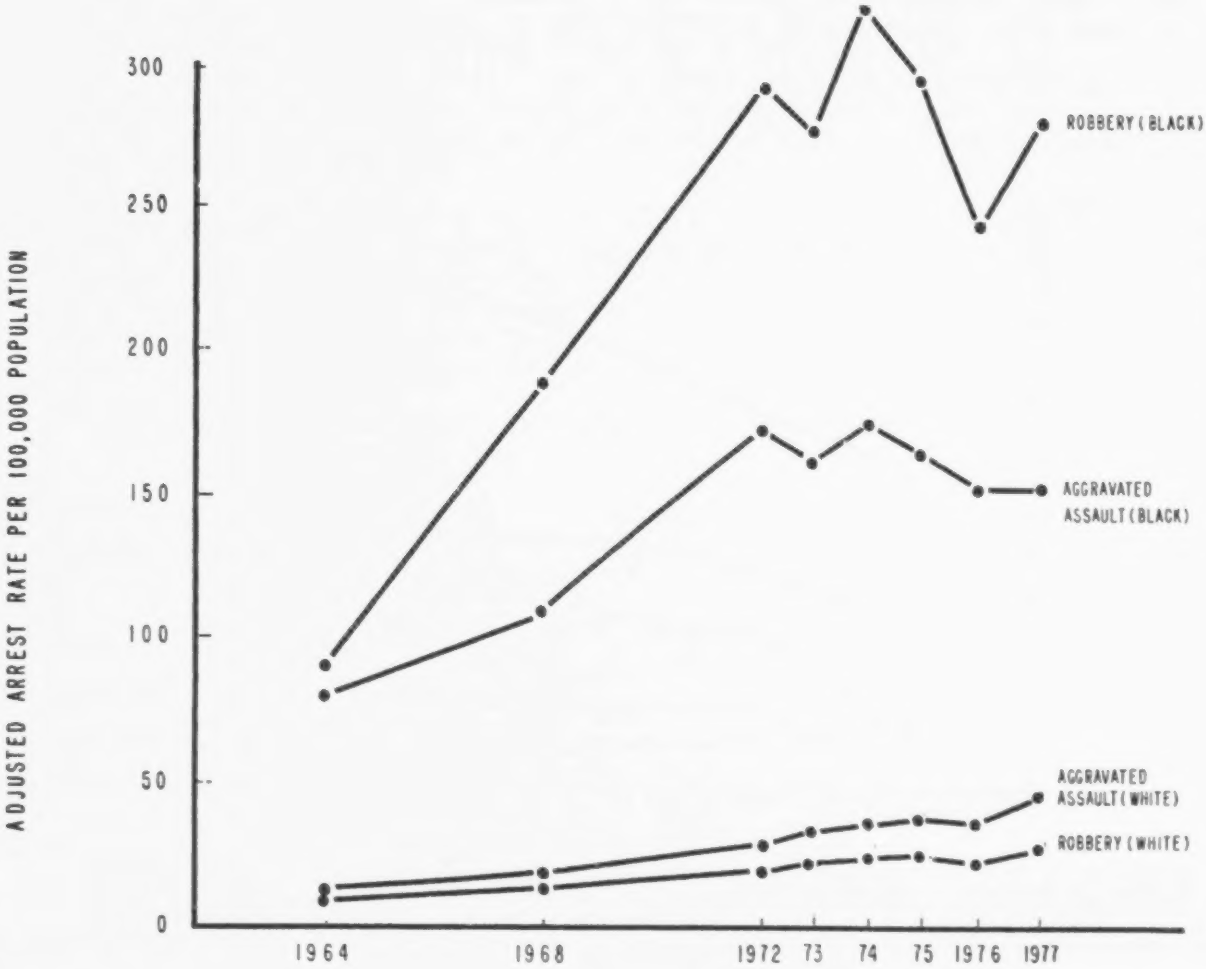
A review of violent offense specific comparisons for the racial groups (Figures IV-20, p. 178; IV-21, p. 179; and IV-22, p. 180) depicts several trends of interest (see Appendix E. Tables E-41, E-42, and E-43, pp. 354-355). It appears that black juvenile arrest rates for murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault are declining from 1972 to 1976 and stabilizing or increasing from 1976 to 1977, while white arrest rates are stable from 1972 to 1977. Figure IV-22 (p. 180) provides some indication that the black juvenile arrest rate increase for burglary is parallel with that for white juveniles. It is also apparent that a substantial net increase (1964-1976) in the black arrest rate for larceny-theft accounts for much of the increase in index property crime for that group. The reasons for this increase are not clear. It may be attributable to increases in any number of specific events subsumed under this label, including pocket picking, purse snatching, shoplifting, and bicycle theft. This of course assumes some "real" increase in the incidence of this crime which again, considering the tentative aspects of the Uniform Crime Reports, may not be totally justified.



ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES FOR MURDER AND FORCIBLE RAPE: BLACKS AND WHITES (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-41

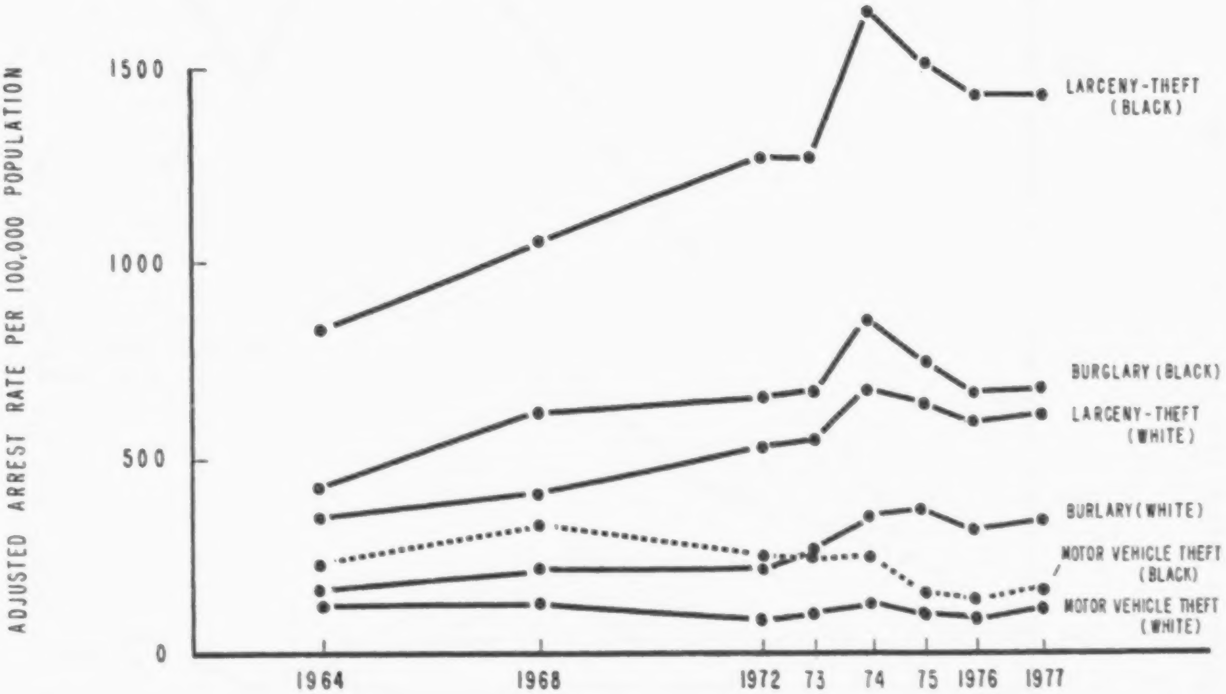
FIGURE IV-20



ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES FOR ROBBERY AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT: BLACKS AND WHITES (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-42

FIGURE IV-21



ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES FOR BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT: BLACKS AND WHITES (SELECTED YEARS 1964-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-43

FIGURE IV-22

Conclusions and Discussion

- According to 1977 Uniform Crime Reports arrest data, black juveniles account for 42 percent (aggravated assault) to 65 percent (robbery) of all arrests for violent juvenile crimes, even though they account for roughly 15 percent of the juvenile population. For the index property crimes (larceny-theft, burglary, and motor vehicle theft), the percentage of black juvenile arrests (22-30 percent) is only moderately greater than their percentage of the total black and white juvenile population.

- A comparison of arrest rates by race for index, non-index, index property, and violent crimes combined (1964-1977) indicates: (1) arrest rates for each offense group and among both black and white juveniles show net increases from 1964 to 1977; followed by (2) a decline or stabilization between 1975 and 1977.

- Comparison of violent offense specific arrest rates by race suggests that murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault arrest rates are stabilizing from 1972 to 1977 for white juveniles, while decreasing from 1972 to 1976 then stabilizing or increasing from 1976 to 1977 for black juveniles.

- Racial comparison of index property offense arrest rates suggests moderate arrest rate increases for white juveniles across all offenses. Black juveniles, on the other hand, represent a mixed picture, with motor vehicle theft arrest rates declining substantially while larceny-theft rates are increasing dramatically from 1964 to 1974, then stabilizing from 1975 to the present.

This secondary analysis of Uniform Crime Reports suggests two findings of some interest: (1) a decrease of black juvenile motor vehicle theft arrests, and (2) a gradual increase in larceny-theft arrest rates for the same group. The reasons for this are unclear since it may be too early to assume a shift in the type of property that black juveniles allegedly steal. But, of course, the implication here is exactly that. It appears from this information that black juveniles are being arrested for different kinds of theft than 10-15 years ago. In part, this shift may be due to the improved security and locking equipment available on later model automobiles. However, if this was so, one might expect a similar decrease in the white arrest rate (which in this case was found only to stabilize). Of greater interest are the possible reasons for any true increase of larceny-theft arrest rates for black juveniles. Ideally, it would be informative to divide this offense category into specific "events," e.g., shoplifting, bicycle theft, to determine which events account for most of this increase. Since this is not currently possible, one is left with many questions which follow these "partial" answers. It is difficult to directly compare these findings with previous efforts. The primary reason for this that is most other efforts (21, 60) confine their "racial" assessment to urban areas where most blacks are concentrated."

The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence computed and assessed violent arrest rates for white and black urban juveniles from 1964 to 1967. Their conclusions indicated that black arrest rates for all four violent offenses increased at a more dramatic pace than those for white juveniles. While the present analysis confirms the Commission's findings based upon 1964 to 1968 results, these findings now indicate that from 1972 to 1974, there was a decrease in violent crime arrest rates for black juveniles, compared with an increase in arrest rates for white juveniles (1964-1976) (60). Other studies, including the self-report effort of Gold and Reimer (41), are not based upon sample sizes comparable to Uniform Crime Reports data. The National Crime Survey victimization studies (114) are based upon urban (specific city) results, although these are reported as the percentage distribution of ethnic groups. Again, it is hoped that the multi-year self-report study undertaken by the Behavioral Research Institute (22) can, in the near future, shed additional light on these issues.

Regardless of the specific results of these comparisons, there is always the danger of associating such simple racial descriptive comparisons with some "tendency" of racial groups. If

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*Unfortunately, the problem of finding comparable population data for UCR urban arrest data was not possible. No doubt a solution like that used in Dealing with Delinquency (21), i.e., the computation of intervals, would have had to be attempted.

race was not so intermingled with poverty and other indices of socioeconomic status, as well as police visibility, such conclusions might be more justified. At present, the crudeness of the preceding comparisons requires that they be left with limited inferential implications.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS USING COURT AND CORRECTIONS DATA

During the planning and writing of this report, a National Survey of Court and Correction Information (described in Appendix C, pp. 301-302) was undertaken. A priority of this survey was to acquire State court and corrections information which could at last supplement national UCR arrest information in describing the serious juvenile offender. This kind of State information is preferable in one sense: it more accurately depicts those adjudicated for serious juvenile offenses. Unfortunately, this information is confined to those States who responded to the survey.* Also, the information sent back had to meet several criteria to be useful. It had to distinguish between juvenile and "other age" offenders and have offense breakdowns roughly equivalent to those used throughout the report (UCR index crimes). Also, it must allow some cross-tabular comparisons of offense type by characteristics like specific age, sex, and race. The survey resulted in the return of a variety of kinds of routinely available information, some useful to the purposes of this report and some not. Table IV-2 (p. 184) summarizes this information by responding State and the kind of cross-tabular offense/characteristic information provided.

While many States responded, only eight States provided information which was directly useful to this report. Of those

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*An alternate, and more comprehensive, source of court referral information is entitled, "Young People and the Juvenile Justice System: Statistics 1975 -- Preliminary Draft," by Daniel D. Smith of the National Center for Juvenile Justice (79). At the time of this writing, the preliminary nature of the information precluded any thorough analysis and integration of the data. Therefore, although potentially a very useful source of characteristics of court referrals, summary statements only can be made at this time.

TABLE IV-2

COURT AND CORRECTIONS CHARACTERISTIC INFORMATION RECEIVED AS PART OF NATIONWIDE SURVEY

	RESPONDING STATE	SPECIFIC OFFENSE BREAKDOWN?	CROSSTABULAR COMPARISONS OFFENSE AND:		
			SPECIFIC JUVENILE AGE?	SEX?	RACE?
COURTS	ALABAMA	YES	NO	YES	NO
	ALASKA	YES[1]	NO	NO	NO
	MARYLAND	YES	NO	NO	NO
	MICHIGAN	YES	NO	NO	NO
	NEBRASKA	YES	YES[1]	YES	YES
	NEW YORK	NO	NO	NO	NO
	PENNSYLVANIA	NO	NO	NO	NO
	VIRGINIA	NO	NO	NO	NO
	WASHINGTON	YES	NO	YES	NO
CORRECTIONS	ARIZONA	YES	YES	YES	YES
	ALABAMA	YES	NO	YES	NO
	ALASKA	YES	NO	YES	NO
	ARKANSAS[2]	YES	YES	YES	NO
	CALIFORNIA[4]	YES	NO	YES	NO
	DELAWARE	YES[3]	YES	YES	YES
	FLORIDA	YES	YES	YES	YES
	GEORGIA	YES	YES	YES	YES
	IOWA	YES	NO	NO	NO
	KANSAS[5]	YES	YES	NO	YES
	LOUISIANA	YES	NO	YES	YES
	MARYLAND	YES	NO	NO	NO
	IDAHO (71-78 COMBINED)	YES	NO	YES	NO
	MINNESOTA (PROBATION ONLY)	YES	YES	YES	YES
	NEVADA	YES[1]	YES	YES	NO
	NEW JERSEY	YES	NO	NO	NO
	NEW HAMPSHIRE	NO	NO	NO	NO
	NEW YORK	NO	NO	NO	NO
	RHODE ISLAND[6]	YES	YES	YES	YES
	SOUTH CAROLINA	YES	YES	YES	YES
	OREGON	NO	NO	NO	NO
	WISCONSIN	YES	NO	YES	YES
	TENNESSEE	YES[1]	YES	NO	NO

[1] OFFENSES CATEGORIZED AS PERSON VIOLENT VERSUS PROPERTY

[2] DATA ONLY INCLUDES JUVENILES SENT TO ADULT COURT

[3] OFFENSES CATEGORIZED AS "PART I" VERSUS "ALL OTHERS"

[4] CALIFORNIA DATA WAS EXCLUDED BECAUSE IT INCORPORATED STATISTICS ON NON-JUVENILE OFFENDERS

[5] DATA GIVEN FOR ONE REHABILITATION CENTER, NOT FOR ENTIRE STATE

[6] DATA GIVEN SEVERAL DIAGNOSTIC AND TRAINING CENTERS, NOT FOR ENTIRE STATE

SOURCES: COMPILED FROM INFORMATION RECEIVED IN THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF COURT AND CORRECTION INFORMATION

States, Alabama, Nebraska, and Washington provided court information which is discussed below. The States of Arizona, Florida, and Georgia provided corrections information that was reviewed to provide a partial description of the serious juvenile offender.

This section will be arranged into three parts. The first will summarize information contained in a study by the National Center for Juvenile Justice. Court referral and correctional commitment data obtained through the Assessment Center's State survey will be presented in the second and third parts, respectively.

National Center for Juvenile Justice

Perhaps the most comprehensive source of information about persons processed through the juvenile courts is provided by Daniel D. Smith in, "Young People and the Juvenile Justice System: Statistics 1975" (79). The report is a preliminary draft and has not been formally released. Therefore, information extracted from this report has only been summarized here to provide an indication of data which will be "forthcoming."

Smith's study is based upon a large sample of 1975 court referrals; specifically, all 580,000 cases reported from juvenile courts in 13 States and jurisdictions representing 42 percent of the entire United States population (79, p. 6). Statistics were compiled relevant to such characteristics as offense, age, sex, and race of court referrals. Smith cautions that his sample of States is nonrandom, and therefore cannot be generalized to the nation as a whole (79, p. 13). Methods are currently being developed, though, which would allow for the estimation of national figures based on the sample (79, pp. 109-110).

Examination of court referral frequencies for each offense, by age, leads to several interesting findings (see Table IV-3, p. 186). In 1975, the number of referrals for three of the violent offenses (murder, forcible rape, and aggravated assault) was quite low for younger juveniles, then increased steadily through age 17. For example, there were only 21 referrals of juveniles 12 years and younger for murder, compared to 146 for 15-year-olds, and over 200 for 17-year-olds (79, p. 43). Similar trends are apparent for forcible rape and aggravated assault, indicating that: (1) police are selectively referring older juveniles to the courts for murder, forcible rape, and aggravated assault, and/or, (2) younger juveniles actually commit or are arrested for a relatively small portion of these three offenses. Based on arrest data contained in UCR (109, p. 188), it is assumed that the latter is the more plausible conclusion. The fourth violent offense, robbery, presents a slightly different picture; namely, the number of court referrals increased dramatically until age 15, then gradually declined. Court referrals for those incidents which would be included in the category of index property crimes (i.e., burglary, automobile theft, shoplifting, larceny, and purse snatching) show similar trends of "peaking" at age 15, then declining (79, p. 43).

TABLE-IV-3

CROSSTABULATION OF AGE AT TIME OF REFERRAL BY REASON FOR REFERRAL

REASON FOR REFERRAL	AGE AT TIME OF REFERRAL								
	0-9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
MURDER	6	2	6	7	32	72	146	202	202
FORCIBLE RAPE	19	13	17	38	89	210	305	324	367
PURSE SNATCHING	1	4	5	13	30	70	111	89	99
ROBBERY	72	101	202	495	1073	2068	3118	2750	3053
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	117	121	190	326	691	1243	1707	2030	2249
BURGLARY	1335	1277	2121	3781	7072	11694	15444	13314	12187
AUTO THEFT	27	45	137	416	1204	3007	4709	4222	3590
SHOPLIFTING	634	571	1073	1662	2824	3802	4535	4116	3830
LARCENY	862	984	1884	3546	5963	8898	11181	10884	10444

SOURCE: 79, P. 43

best copy available

A comparison of court referrals by sex (as shown in Table IV-4, p. 188) indicates that in 1975, male juveniles accounted for the vast majority of referrals for all incidents which would be included among the index crimes,* with the exception of "shoplifting" (79, p. 56). The portion of referrals accounted for by females ranges from 2.5 percent for forcible rape, to 27.9 percent for all larceny-thefts combined (shoplifting, purse snatching, and larceny). It is interesting to note that when larceny-theft is divided into its three subcategories, very divergent percentages are obtained: 4.7 percent of all referrals for purse snatching, 41.9 percent of all referrals for shoplifting, and 21.5 percent of all referrals for "other larceny" involve females. This discrepancy implies that the reporting of only one category of "larceny-theft" masks important variations within that category.

Comparisons similar to those made for court referrals by sex can also be developed by race. Smith estimated that approximately 85.0 percent of all juveniles in his sample States are white, 13.6 percent are black, and 1.5 percent are in the category of "other" (79, pp. 16-17). These figures were used as a basis for comparison with percent distribution of the three racial groups by offense for court referrals in 1975. As shown in Table IV-4 (p. 188), the nonwhite categories were overrepresented among court referrals for almost every offense (79, p. 52). Court referrals for robbery and purse snatching show the highest relative involvement of nonwhites (69.1 and 70.3 percent respectively). There appears to be a tendency for court referrals to involve a greater proportion of nonwhites for the violent offense categories and purse snatching, as opposed to a somewhat lesser involvement for the remaining property offenses (i.e., larceny, burglary, auto theft, and shoplifting). It is not known to what extent, if any, selective "biases" have occured which would cause nonwhites to be referred to courts more often than whites, thus leading to an artificial "overrepresentation" of these racial groups. The National Center for Juvenile Justice is currently making comparisons between arrests and court referrals for individual States, in order to determine what processing and selective mechanisms are operating at various levels of the juvenile justice system.

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*Based on examination of UCR offense classifications (111, p. 304), the following court referral incidents were determined to fall within the category of Index Crimes: murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, purse snatching, shoplifting, and automobile theft.

Court Referrals

Three States, Alabama, Nebraska, and Washington, provided court referral characteristic information. While the specific juvenile median age was computed for only Nebraska, the proportion of male to female referrals was tabulated for various index offenses for all three States.

TABLE IV-4

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF RACE AND SEX BY REASON FOR REFERRAL

REASON FOR REFERRAL	RACE			SEX	
	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER	MALE	FEMALE
MURDER	48.1%	32.4%	19.6%	88.1%	11.9%
FORCIBLE RAPE	41.4	49.4	9.2	97.5	2.5
PURSE SNATCHING	29.7	70.0	0.3	95.3	4.7
ROBBERY	30.9	61.0	8.1	92.4	7.6
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	46.0	40.4	13.6	83.6	16.4
BURGLARY	63.8	28.3	7.9	94.2	5.8
AUTO THEFT	63.2	24.9	11.9	92.1	7.0
SHOPLIFTING	52.8	45.5	1.7	58.1	41.9
LARCENY	61.1	31.1	7.8	78.5	21.5
LARCENY-THEFT*	58.1	36.2	5.7	72.1	27.9

* LARCENY-THEFT WAS COMPUTED ON THE BASIS OF FREQUENCIES FOR PURSE SNATCHING, SHOPLIFTING, AND LARCENY
SOURCE: 79, PP. 56-57

Sex

Table IV-5 below suggests findings of interest regarding the changing proportions of male to female court referrals for the crimes of robbery and larceny. For all three States, Alabama, Nebraska, and Washington, the proportion of female to male referrals increased for these offenses. This finding might not be so dramatic, except that data for all three States for the years 1976 and 1977 suggest that involvement of female juveniles is increasing in relation to male involvement for these crimes (132, p. 14; 133, p. 24; 144, p. 11; 145, p. 34; 146, p. 27; 149, p. 1; and 150, p. 1). This finding was not confirmed in the previous analysis of UCR national arrest data which suggested that, although female arrest rates were increasing for these crimes, they were not increasing at the same dramatic pace as male arrest rates. Interpretation of this trend is unclear, since it is uncertain

TABLE IV-5
PROPORTION (PERCENTAGE) OF MALE TO FEMALE JUVENILE COURT REFERRALS FOR SELECTED INDEX CRIMES FOR THREE STATES (1975-77)

		1975			1976			1977		
		N	% MALE	%FEMALE	N	% MALE	%FEMALE	N	% MALE	%FEMALE
MURDER, NON-NEGLIGENT MANSLAUGHTER	NEBRASKA	7	57	43	2	100	0	0	0	0
	ALABAMA	-**	-	-	13	85	15	16	81	19
	WASHINGTON	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	88	12
ROBBERY	NEBRASKA	129	90	10	80	91	9	83	87	13
	ALABAMA	-	-	-	159	93	7	188	89	11
	WASHINGTON	-	-	-	642	92	8	138	88	12
ASSAULT*	NEBRASKA	52	88	12	41	85	15	40	78	22
	ALABAMA	-	-	-	738	69	31	915	71	29
	WASHINGTON	-	-	-	1625	77	23	412	82	18
BURGLARY	NEBRASKA	804	96	4	820	97	3	662	96	4
	ALABAMA	-	-	-	1590	96	4	1694	96	4
	WASHINGTON	-	-	-	5579	93	7	2950	93	7
AUTO THEFT	NEBRASKA	215	92	8	187	83	13	181	89	11
	ALABAMA	-	-	-	316	92	8	333	93	7
	WASHINGTON	-	-	-	2023	91	9	1021	89	11
LARCENY	NEBRASKA	472	89	11	452	95	5	508	91	9
	ALABAMA	-	-	-	1251	89	11	1398	88	12
	WASHINGTON	-	-	-	5673	83	17	1424	77	23

* INTERPRET WITH CAUTION, IN SOME CASES THIS IS CONFINED TO AGGRAVATED ASSAULT WHILE OTHER TIMES INCLUDES ALL ASSAULT CASES

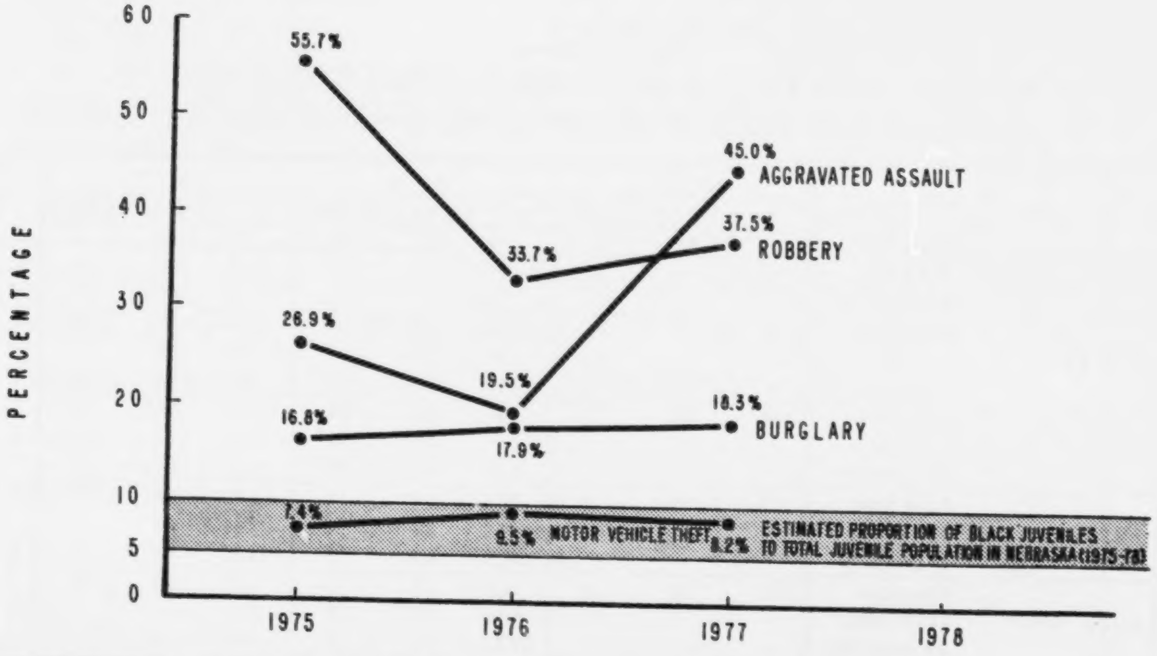
** DASH (-) INDICATES THAT NO DATA WERE AVAILABLE FOR A PARTICULAR OFFENSE OR YEAR

SOURCES: 132, P. 14; 133, P. 24; 144, P. 11; 145, P. 34; 146, P. 27; 149, P. 1; 150, P. 1; AND 151, P. 1

whether these three States are indicative of a more general trend or whether arrest data may not adequately depict the actual conviction rate of juvenile age males and females for these crimes.

Race

It was noted in a previous part of this chapter that the disproportionately high arrest rate of black juveniles may be a partial function of police visibility as well as the underreporting of the black juvenile population. Court referral information data received from Nebraska allowed an additional comparison of these findings to be made. Figure IV-23 below reports the percentage of black juvenile referrals for selected offenses in relation to the estimated proportion of the total Nebraska juvenile population accounted for by black juveniles for the years 1975-1977. These findings are similar to the disproportionately high representation



PROPORTION OF BLACK JUVENILE COURT REFERRALS TO TOTAL JUVENILE COURT REFERRALS FOR SELECTED INDEX OFFENSES (NEBRASKA 1975-77)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-44

FIGURE IV-23

of black juveniles in 1977 UCR arrest data, i.e., the proportion of black to white arrests for the violent crimes of robbery and aggravated assault are greater than their arrest proportion for the property crime of burglary and larceny-theft (see Appendix E, Table E-44, p.356 for source). This finding suggests that UCR arrest data may not, according to Nebraska information, overestimate the proportions of black to white juvenile offenders for selected index crimes.

Correctional Commitments

Age

Table IV-6 below reports the computed median age of correctional commitments for three States by selected index offenses. The major finding to emerge here is the median age for two violent

TABLE IV-6

MEDIAN AGE OF JUVENILE CORRECTIONAL COMMITMENTS FOR SELECTED INDEX OFFENSES (THREE STATES 1975-1978)

OFFENSE \ STATE / YEAR	ARIZONA					FLORIDA					GEORGIA				
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978(2)	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
MURDER	16.25	15.83	15.25	16.5	15.5	-*	-	-	15.25	17.0	-	-	-	-	15.0
RAPE	15.67(1)	16.2	15.83	16.62	NONE	-	-	-	15.53	15.25	-	-	-	-	14.75
ARMED ROBBERY	16.3	16.0	16.83	14.5	16.62	-	-	-	16.3	16.07	-	-	-	-	15.33
UNARMED ROBBERY	15.25	16.33	16.5	16.14	16.33	-	-	-	15.98	15.98	-	-	-	-	15.23
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	16.1	15.75	16.1	16.27	15.62	-	-	-	15.89	15.17	-	-	-	-	14.94
BURGLARY	15.4	15.9	15.67	15.93	15.96	-	-	-	15.72	15.33	-	-	-	-	15.17(3) 15.5(4)
LARCENY OR THEFT	15.43	15.87	15.57	15.97	16.63	-	-	-	15.57	15.32	-	-	-	-	14.83
AUTO THEFT	15.36	15.83	15.67	15.77	15.28	-	-	-	15.67	15.08	-	-	-	-	15.27
ARSON	14.25	13.	15.5	15.	17.	-	-	-	15.33	15.	-	-	-	-	14.5
KIDNAP	17.	17.	-	17.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.

(1)- CLASSIFIED AS "SEXUAL ASSAULT"
(2)- JANUARY - JUNE, 1978
(3)- BURGLARY
(4)- BREAK AND ENTER
* - DASH (-) INDICATES THAT NO DATA WERE AVAILABLE FOR A PARTICULAR OFFENSE OR YEAR
SOURCES: 135, 137, 138 AND 141

offenses, robbery and assault, for all States is slightly higher than the median age for the property offenses burglary, larceny, and auto theft (135, 137, 138, and 141). This finding is similar to that reported by UCR arrest statistics which showed that arrest rates and median arrest frequencies of property offenders are typically somewhat younger than violent offenders.

Sex

Table IV-7 below reports the percentage of male to female commitments by selected index offenses for three States (135, 137, 138, 139, and 141). Generally, the proportion of female to male commitments for all index crimes is somewhat below their percentage of juvenile arrests for these same crimes (based upon 1977 UCR juvenile arrest data, p. 108). Implied here is the possibility that "chivalrous" attitudes towards females exist, suggesting that proportionately fewer juvenile females arrested for index crimes

TABLE IV-7

PERCENTAGE OF JUVENILE MALE AND FEMALE CORRECTIONAL COMMITMENTS FOR SELECTED INDEX OFFENSES

(THREE STATES 1975-1978)

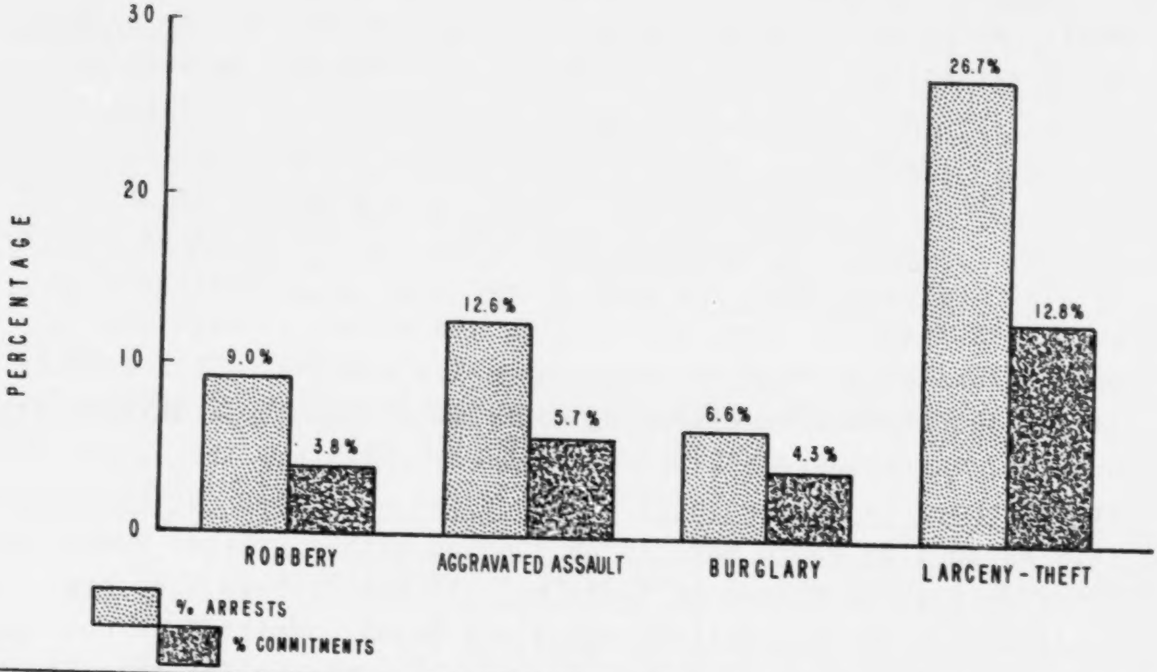
		1975			1976			1977			1978		
		N	% MALE	%FEMALE	N	% MALE	%FEMALE	N	% MALE	%FEMALE	N	% MALE	%FEMALE
MURDER	ARIZONA	8	75	25	3	33	67	4	100	-	2	100	-
	FLORIDA	-*	-	-	4	100	-	5	80	20	1	-	100
	GEORGIA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UNARMED ROBBERY	ARIZONA	13	92	8	6	100	-	17	100	-	13	85	15
	FLORIDA	-	-	-	43	93	7	157	93	7	60	93	7
	GEORGIA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66	89	11
ARMED ROBBERY	ARIZONA	13	100	-	4	100	-	2	100	-	7	86	14
	FLORIDA	-	-	-	51	94	6	86	93	7	55	89	11
	GEORGIA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	92	8
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	ARIZONA	35	94	6	16	93	7	33	73	27	17	94	6
	FLORIDA	-	-	-	-	-	-	182	83	17	96	82	18
	GEORGIA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61	82	18
BURGLARY	ARIZONA	140	96	4	114	96	4	110	97	3	52	100	-
	FLORIDA	-	-	-	668	96	4	1645	95	5	771	95	5
	GEORGIA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	709	97	3
LARCENY	ARIZONA	47	87	13	27	96	4	18	100	-	19	95	5
	FLORIDA	-	-	-	176	90	10	279	92	8	172	93	7
	GEORGIA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	427	85	15

* DASH (-) INDICATES THAT NO DATA WERE AVAILABLE FOR A PARTICULAR OFFENSE OR YEAR

SOURCES: 135, 137, 138, 139 AND 141

and presumably the more serious incidents, are either diverted out of the system or not committed to correctional facilities. To study this assumption with arrest versus commitment information, 1975 arrest data was compared with 1975 commitment data for the State of Arizona.

A comparison of percentages of female to male arrests and commitments for the State of Arizona is provided in Figure IV-24 (p. 194). For those index offenses depicted, the proportion of females to males drops considerably between arrest and commitment. While possibly due to chivalry on the part of the system, noted variations could also be due to apprehension as well as other "system" effects. The other result apparent in Table IV-7 is the increase (proportionately) of female commitments for armed robbery (135). While UCR arrest data suggests an increase (see pp. 167-168) in female arrest rates for the crime of robbery, it also indicates that the male arrest rate is increasing at a much more dramatic rate, thus having the effect of negating any proportionate increase of female juvenile arrests. This finding is not confirmed when examining commitments for these three States, however, which suggests (proportionately speaking) the adjudicated armed robber is increasingly likely to be a female. Unfortunately, this assumption would have to be studied with a greater number or cross section of States in order to: (1) demonstrate that proportionately more juvenile females are being committed to corrections than before; and (2) determine the reason for this if such proportionate increases are not apparent in female/male juvenile arrest statistics. It would be of some interest to compare this finding with UCR armed robbery arrest data. Unfortunately, UCR does not make the required distinction between the armed and unarmed events. Until this is explored further, one might assume that total UCR robbery arrest statistics may be "masking" an increase in the female arrest rates for the armed event. Thus, it is plausible that there is a proportionate increase in both female arrests and commitments for armed robbery.



COMPARISON OF 1975 PERCENTAGE JUVENILE FEMALE ARRESTS AND CORRECTIONAL COMMITMENTS FOR THE STATE OF ARIZONA (SELECTED INDEX OFFENSES)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-45

FIGURE IV-24

Race

Racial proportions for the three States permitting offense by race comparisons of correctional commitments is reported in Table IV-8 below. While two southern States, Florida and Georgia, depict a high proportion of black to white juvenile commitments for all years, Arizona reflects more involvement of the "other" category. This category is made up of Indian and Mexican-Americans which constitute a substantial proportion of the total juvenile population in Arizona. A review of racial percentages for the three States for each offense indicates that there are no common increases or decreases for all States for any offense (135, 137, 138, and 141).

TABLE IV-8

RACIAL PERCENTAGES OF JUVENILE CORRECTIONAL COMMITMENTS FOR INDEX OFFENSES

(THREE STATES 1975-1978)

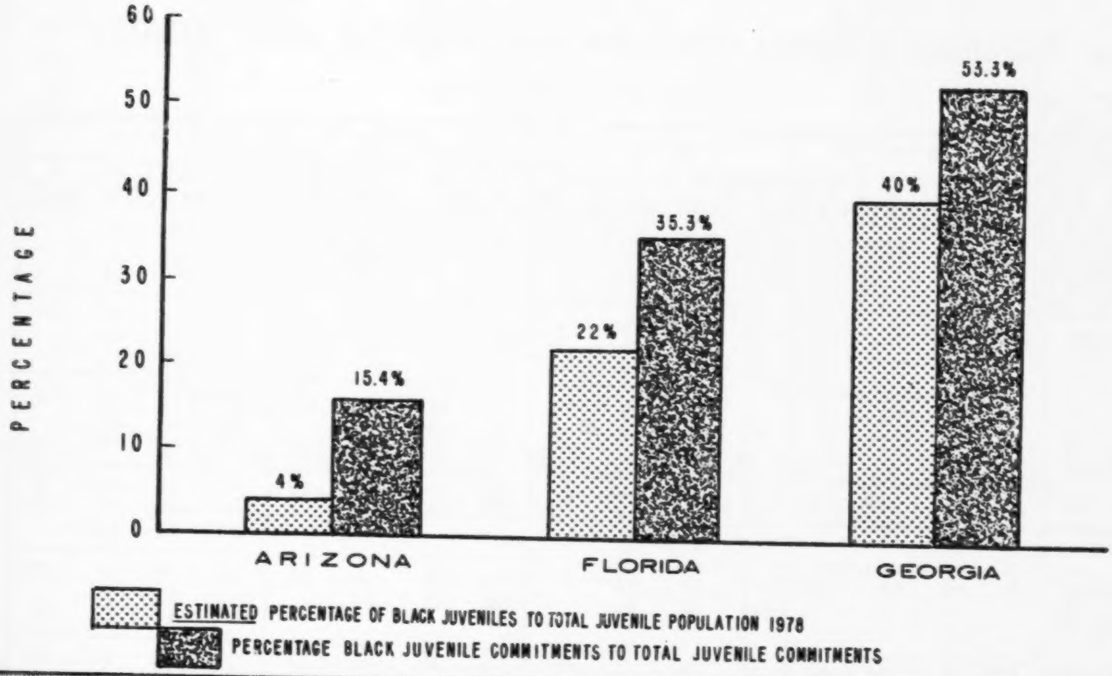
		1975				1976				1977				1978			
		N	% WHITE	% BLACK	% OTHER*	N	% WHITE	% BLACK	% OTHER*	N	% WHITE	% BLACK	% OTHER*	N	% WHITE	% BLACK	% OTHER*
MURDER	ARIZONA	8	25	63	13	3	33	67	–	4	50	25	25	1	100	–	–
	FLORIDA	–**	–	–	–	4	25	75	–	5	40	60	–	1	100	–	–
	GEORGIA	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	25	75	–
UNARMED ROBBERY	ARIZONA	13	46	23	31	6	80	20	–	17	41	35	24	13	15	38	46
	FLORIDA	–	–	–	–	43	30	70	–	157	24	76	–	60	32	68	–
	GEORGIA	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	66	29	71	–
ARMED ROBBERY	ARIZONA	13	85	7	8	4	50	–	50	2	50	–	50	7	43	14	43
	FLORIDA	–	–	–	–	51	45	55	–	86	55	45	–	55	35	65	–
	GEORGIA	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	26	31	69	–
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	ARIZONA	35	43	23	34	16	33	33	33	33	43	21	36	17	35	18	47
	FLORIDA	–	–	–	–	95	48	52	–	182	40	60	–	96	43	57	–
	GEORGIA	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	61	28	72	–
BURGLARY	ARIZONA	140	49	18	32	114	46	13	41	110	55	15	30	52	54	15	31
	FLORIDA	–	–	–	–	668	57	43	–	1645	63	37	–	771	63	37	–
	GEORGIA	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	709	47	53	–
LARCENY	ARIZONA	47	51	19	30	27	48	19	30	18	61	28	11	19	36	21	42
	FLORIDA	–	–	–	–	126	58	42	–	279	58	42	–	172	60	40	–
	GEORGIA	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	427	36	64	0

* DIFFERENT KINDS OF "OTHER" ETHNIC GROUPS ARE REPRESENTED FOR DIFFERENT STATES. ARIZONA, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF INDIAN-AMERICANS AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS.

** DASH (-) INDICATES NO DATA WERE AVAILABLE FOR A PARTICULAR YEAR OR OFFENSE

SOURCES: 135, 137, 138 AND 141

To determine if black juveniles are overrepresented as correctional commitments, the percentage of black juvenile commitments for 1978 was compared with their estimated proportion of the total juvenile population for 1978 for three States. As indicated in Figure IV-25 below, black juveniles are overrepresented for the crime of burglary, and these proportions are similar to those noted with 1977 UCR arrest information (see Appendix E, Table E-46, p. 358). It should be noted, however, that the previously discussed inability to "control" for socioeconomic status, as well as other factors, may prematurely suggest the association of crime with racial characteristics.

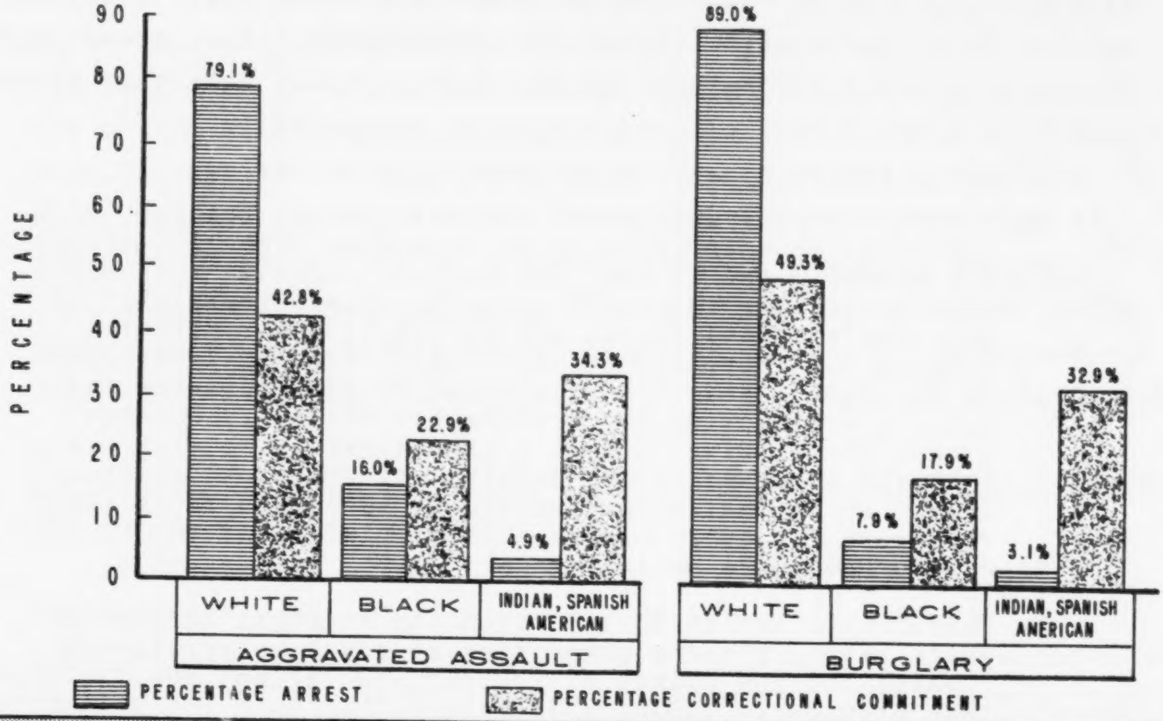


PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF BLACK JUVENILE CORRECTIONAL BURGLARY COMMITMENTS TO BLACK JUVENILE POPULATION FOR THREE STATES, 1978

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-46

FIGURE IV-25

Figure IV-26 below suggests that, while white juveniles represent the majority of Arizona arrests for the crimes of aggravated assault and burglary, Spanish and American Indians account for a disproportionate amount of correctional commitments. In both offenses, the black proportions are between those of the Spanish and American Indians and whites (see Appendix E, Table E-47, p. 359).



COMPARISON OF 1975 JUVENILE ARREST AND COMMITMENT RACIAL PERCENTAGES FOR THE STATE OF ARIZONA (SELECTED INDEX OFFENSES)

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-47

FIGURE IV-26

In summary, it is noted that there are discrepancies between findings based on the National Center for Juvenile Justice report, and those based on data obtained via the State survey. The reason for presenting information from both sources is two-fold. First, the present authors conducted the State survey in an attempt to determine the availability of information as well as the findings that could potentially be drawn from State data. It is true that the States which responded to the survey request were not a random or representative sample of the nation. The information collected by the National Center for Juvenile Justice is, of course, more comprehensive and representative. But because of previously mentioned factors (e.g., the data is in a preliminary draft which is not yet formally released), combined with the fact that trend data cannot be developed from the latter report, it was felt that findings from both sources of data should be presented.

Briefly, the findings can be summarized as follows:

- National Center for Juvenile Justice court referral data indicated that in 1975, older juveniles (ages 15 through 17) predominated in the four violent offenses and purse snatching. For the index property crimes (burglary, auto theft, shoplifting, and larceny), court referral frequencies increased steadily until age 15, then began to decrease. Reason for referral by sex indicates that males are predominantly responsible for every offense except shoplifting, which is approximately equally distributed among males and females. In regards to race, it was noted that nonwhites are overrepresented in court referrals for every offense, particularly for the violent crimes and purse snatching.

- Useful information derived from the national survey suggests that a greater proportion of court referrals are females for the crimes of robbery and larceny now (1977) than previously (1976, 1975).

- Court and corrections information for four States (Arizona, Florida, Georgia, and Nebraska) indicates that a disproportionate number of adjudicated offenders for most index crimes, and presumably serious crimes, have been and are continuing to be either black or of other minority or ethnic backgrounds.

- A comparison of proportions of female to male arrests and then correctional commitments for selected index offenses indicates that females are committed less frequently for index crimes than males.
- Comparison of 1975 arrest and correctional commitment information for Arizona provides some evidence that minority juveniles are more overrepresented as correctional commitments than as arrests.

In regard to the implications of arrest data towards the identity of the adjudicated offender, this chapter suggests that, proportionately speaking, court and correction data is relatively similar to the sex and race proportions noted with arrest data. However, court and correction data does not appear, nor would it be expected, to support UCR arrest rate trends over time. This may be due to a variety of reasons, including characteristics of the system which may divert juveniles out via "waiver" provisions. Thus, it cannot be expected that court or correction data can accurately depict the ebb and flow of involvement over time of juvenile sexual or racial subpopulations. Generally speaking, however, the limited number of States providing "offender" information does suggest that arrest data may not be as inaccurate an indicator of offender characteristics as one might otherwise assume.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF STUDIES AND OTHER INFORMATION SOURCES TOWARDS IDENTIFICATION OF CHARACTERISTICS

Since the Uniform Crime Reports do not routinely collect characteristic information other than age, race, and sex, it is necessary to turn elsewhere to help piece together a more complete description of the serious juvenile offender. Small sample studies attempting to describe the age, sex, and race of the serious juvenile offender, excluded from the previous discussion, will not be reviewed here. Rather, it is of interest to assess the extent to which other sources of information bear upon the description of the serious offenders' socioeconomic status, family background, and other less "obvious" characteristics. Here, one must attempt to make some sense of fragmented study contributions towards the identification of the serious juvenile offender although: (1) the specific purpose of the study may not be the explicit study of characteristics; (2) the study topic may be neither serious juvenile crime nor violence but rather deviance, delinquency, or some other broad dependent variable; and (3) the sample or population of concern was not necessarily juvenile but rather might qualify as young adult. These issues combined suggest that information sources and studies should be reviewed in two ways: first, what selected studies say about major characteristic concerns and secondly, what the implications are generally of various kinds of studies to the characterization of the serious juvenile offender.

Socioeconomic Status (SES)

The implications of social class or alternate indices of socioeconomic status are particulary important considering the kinds of crude racial comparisons previously attempted. The often noted "significant" relationship between social class and race requires that any attempt to consider the racial characteristics of serious juvenile offenders do so only after "controlling" for socioeconomic measures. As Hirschi and Selvin (cited by Wenk and Halatyn 123, pp.66-67) previously noted, the substantial relationship between race and social class suggests that the two variables each contribute to some extent to delinquency but the specific nature of that relationship is not well understood. Additional ambiguity regarding the broader topic delinquency and social class has been implied in the findings of Williams and Gold (125, pp.127-219). In their study these authors found no relationship between self-reported delinquency and social class. It should be noted, however, that most studies of social class pay little specific attention to violence or a criterion similar to the index crime categories used throughout this report. The implications of most research with social class is, therefore, of limited value to the specific topic of the "serious juvenile offender." What can be gleaned from these broader efforts and applied to the serious juvenile offender is confined to a small number of self-report studies that run counter to the other noted results of official data.

Elliot and Voss (5), for example, noted that there was no difference in self-reported delinquency between lower and middle SES youths. While this finding seems plausible when applied to the aggregate definition "delinquency," it is less certain that this finding will remain when confined to more serious offenses. In only one instance, a self-report study by Gold and Reimer (41), is there any attempt to assess the relationship between social class and a measure of "severity." In this case, it was noted that a measure of social economic status (public assistance) did discriminate between serious and less serious offenders while failing to do so when applied to all delinquent versus nondelinquent offenders. Although tentative, this result indicates that conclusions like that proposed in Dealing With Delinquency (21) that is, SES/delinquency associations noted via self-report studies, may not be correct. According to self-report studies, the total incidents, particularly of a minor nature are more equally distributed than officially reported. Secondly, however, the study by Gold and Reimer (41) suggests that more serious criminal behavior is related to social class. The discrepancy here may be due, in part, to attempting to look at the serious juvenile offender based upon total delinquency studies. Conclusions here may be distorted since self-report studies showing no relationship between total numbers of delinquency incidents and SES may mask any real association between SES and the more serious offenses.

Generally, it is difficult to make a concluding statement about the relationship between serious juvenile crime and socioeconomic status. Most studies are too fragmented, relying upon alternate measures of delinquency and social class, to allow a composite conclusion. At best, one can postulate that there is reason to believe that, like race, the differences between social class and serious juvenile crime may be too substantial to be explained away by "total delinquency" self-report studies. On the other hand, however, it should be acknowledged that this area of research must eventually be attempted on a more general level than that associated with several small sample self-report studies. Perhaps national probability self-report studies like that currently under way at the Behavioral Research Institute (22) can eventually provide more conclusive answers to these questions.

Family Background

A question of some interest involves whether the serious juvenile offender is likely to come from a broken or disturbed home environment. A review of the literature suggests that one is even less able to answer this question than the previous question concerning socioeconomic status and serious juvenile crime. While several studies have dealt with the relationship between family interactions and delinquent behavior (15, 28, 119) few have dealt more specifically with the serious or violent juvenile offender. A variety of kinds of studies can be brought to bear upon the more general topic including violence in the family, family disruption and delinquency, and family aggression, each of which is the property of different disciplinary perspectives. For example, the topic violence in the family has been approached as "violence producing situations" not specifically related to either violent crime or juvenile violence (15, 28). In regard to delinquency, the broken home has often been cited as a causal factor. However, Steinmetz and Straus (15, p. 251) states that continuous family tension and discord may also be important. A variety of alternate family violence producing facilitators have been proposed including such things as: (1) lessened status, prestige; (2) parent teaching nonviolence but practicing violence; (3) inconsistent or crudely punitive discipline (15, pp. 253-259). Each of these facilitators are somewhat different but each might "produce" a violent child or adolescent. Unfortunately, the research to support or detract from these thoughts is too sparse to suggest much of substance.

Two studies, by Chilton and Markle (28) and Johnston (53), provide some evidence concerning family variables and serious juvenile offenses. Both studies used offense based definitions of seriousness with somewhat different results. The study by Chilton and Markle examined the effect of income and race upon the relationship between family disruption and seriousness of offense. They found that a larger percentage of juveniles committing the most serious offenses had incomplete families than those committing lesser offenses (28, p. 93). However, this association did not stand up when compared by race; that is, the relationship between severity and incomplete families was apparent for white but not black juveniles (28, p. 94). The study by Johnston (53, pp. 22-37) noted that family interaction variables were more strongly related to less serious than more serious offenses, thus failing to support the results of Chilton and Markle (28). Unfortunately, these two studies were not comparable since one was based upon official data and the other upon self-report information.

These studies, as well as general research on family violence, and the family and delinquency, failed to provide any definite "picture" of the serious juvenile offenders' family life. In the case of Johnston, and Chilton and Markle, the results, while not contradictory, are certainly not comparable. Again, studies with various orientations and the generally inconsistent nature of most such research implies that a family background profile of the serious "delinquent" is yet to emerge.

Educational Background

A variety of interesting questions involve the educational status of the serious juvenile offender. Of primary concern is the question concerning the achievement functioning of youth and its relationship to the commission of serious juvenile crime. Specific topics like whether the serious offender is academically retarded or even in school are important to depicting the violent or serious juvenile offender. As in previous cases, however, the bulk of studies dealing with school achievement generally study the relationship between "delinquency" and school related variables.

A study of school status, i.e., whether violent offenders committed to the California Youth Authority between 1973 and 1976 were in school or not, found no relationship between being a school dropout and the commission of a violent offense (74, p. 7). Another attempt to determine the relationship between either arrest or commitment to school behavior problems or last school grade completed (for an offense against persons or property), was also nonsignificant (26, p. 70). Another study, when examining the highest grade completed, did find a moderate relationship between being committed for a murder or minor assault and grade completed (74, p. 7).

The generally inconsistent nature of these findings suggests that a relationship between educational variables and serious juvenile crime (violent, property offenses) cannot be assumed. While a plausible correlate of serious juvenile crime, there is not sufficient evidence upon which to assume some relationship.

Other "Characteristics"

The study of characteristics need not, as suggested in this chapter's introduction, stop with the above mentioned concerns. There are other characteristics which are "obsolete," in the sense that they are the product of earlier times of research or disciplinary interests. Some of these, such as body build, are simply too archaic to be taken seriously. Others, such as "intelligence" and "personality" are also the product of a different disciplinary association. In an attempt to remain in step with the changing times, preoccupation with "psychological variables" based generally upon paper and pencil instruments or projective techniques will not be reviewed here. Suffice to say that much of this research is or was based upon two questions. One dealt with the question of whether the intelligence functioning of delinquents was below that for nondelinquents. The results of this controversy were never conclusive although most of this research was reviewed by Wenk and Halatyn (122). The other major track had to do with predicting or characterizing delinquents on the basis of personality tests, primarily the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), and the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) (121, pp. 30-31). This type of research has also been deemed inconclusive, even though much of the prior interest with both of these topics has waned. Variations on this kind of research have involved the application of lesser known instruments in the prediction of delinquency and exploratory attempts to "characterize" delinquents via batteries of variables. The Gluecks' studies are examples of an earlier sociological school that attempted many such characterizations which have been criticized as being based upon faulty research methods or assumptions (7 and 8).

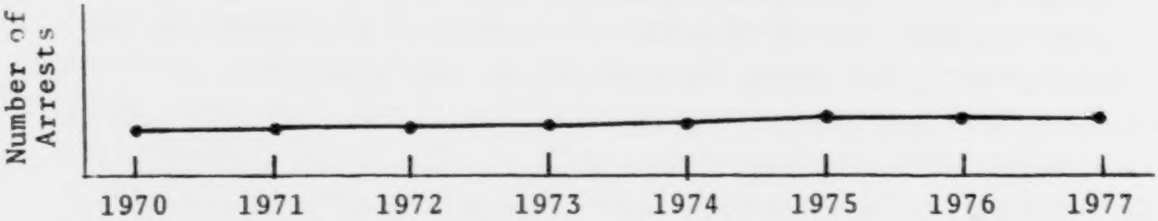
The Issue of Chronicity: Who are the Chronic Juvenile Offenders?

> "Marvin Wolfgang et al., in their study of Delinquency in a Birth Cohort (1972) found that in the group studied, the chronic repeat offenders represented only 6 percent of the cohort but committed 52 percent of the crimes."

This statement, used as part of the rationale for funding the "habitual offender" program, appeared in the 1976 Fiscal Year plan of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (115, p. 3). Inherent in the statement is the important implication that juvenile crime may be episodic except for a small number of offenders for which crime is repetitious. It is no coincidence that this concern has become more important, for if, as Wolfgang suggests, a small number of offenders commit a disproportionate amount of crime, then additional knowledge of this small number would have important implications.

One way of depicting the importance of chronicity in relation to this report is to look at a hypothetical "trend of serious juvenile crime."

As depicted in Figure IV-27 (p. 206) there is a gradually increasing number of serious juvenile arrests for the period 1970-1977. Obviously, one limitation of this kind of display (as used throughout this report) is the number of times across the same or different years the same individuals are showing up as serious arrest statistics. One can assume that some proportion of drop-away; that is, persons who do not reappear as arrest statistics



NUMBER OF HYPOTHETICAL SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME ARRESTS: NATIONAL DATA
Figure IV-27

because their crimes may be "episodic." However, one can also assume that some individuals reappear as arrest statistics during subsequent years while some new individuals are also added each year. Thus, for any of the depicted years, one might expect each of these three phenomena to be taking place to some extent. The difficulty here is that one has little if any idea of the extent or proportion to which these phenomena function. That is, one cannot attempt to compile a profile of the repetitive serious juvenile offender without coding "criminal history" as a variable in the same way as the Uniform Crime Reports, for example, codes sex and race. In the interim, again, one must turn to a handful of dissimilar studies to extract "clues" to the identity of the serious chronic offender.

Any study attempting to describe the chronic offender must be longitudinal; that is, it must in some way look at the serious criminal behavior of the same individuals over time. Several kinds or types of studies have traditionally looked at individual criminal histories over time. One of these has been the parole or follow-up study usually involving some predictive effort to forecast future criminal behavior. The contributions of these kinds of efforts are not totally pertinent here, however, since they: (1) traditionally involve adult rather than juvenile samples; (2)

attempt to predict a relatively short follow-up period; and (3) consider "aggregate prediction criteria" such as "readmission," and do not often consider criminal histories prior to the base period (usually release from an institution). A second kind of effort having longitudinal implications centers around delinquency prediction research typically involving the use of a psychological instrument score to predict or at least correlate with subsequent delinquent behavior. While this kind of research is more closely related to the construct of chronicity, most such research has attempted to predict a single or first delinquent act and has not often looked at numbers of offenses and their interrelationships. A third type of study having the most direct bearing on this topic is the cohort/panel study involving either an attempt to "reconstruct" criminal histories from information or interviews, or the more authentic version involving the continual follow-up of individuals selected on the basis of some criterion.

Currently, there are only a handful of existing panel/cohort type studies. Most such efforts can be confined to the work of Wolfgang (17), Polk (70), Strasburg (82), Lefkowitz (10), and Hamparian (47). These studies can be distinguished by differences of disciplinary orientation, definitions of seriousness, violence, and agression as well as time and location of study.

The extent to which these studies can identify the characteristics is, of course, dependent upon the definition of serious. Since this assessment is looking at the seven index crimes, the chronic offender could presumably commit some mixture of violent and index property offenses over time to qualify. This approach is similar to that applied by Wolfgang (17), in which he looked at total index offense arrests. The studies by Strasburg (82, p. 42) and Hamparian (47, p. 4), however, are interested primarily in violence, that of Lefkowitz in "aggression" and in the case of Polk, total delinquency (70, p. 84). Differences between the studies do not stop here, however, as illustrated in Table IV-9 (p. 208).

Table IV-9 provides additional evidence of how these studies, in this case their samples, vary. Attempts to define chronicity also vary. Wolfgang, Strasburg, and Hamparian (47, p. 9; and 82, p. 11) define chronicity as any five arrests before the eighteenth birthday. Polk and Lefkowitz do not establish any criteria for chronicity preferring to look at patterns of offenses without making predetermined chronicity cutoff. Thus, the commission of serious offenses must be looked at in relation to total offenses committed

TABLE IV-9

COHORT STUDY SAMPLES: SOURCE, TYPE AND SIZE

Author	Sample Source, Type	Sample Size
Wolfgang	All male individuals, ages 10 through 17, born 1945, living in Philadelphia, whose records could be found.	9,945
Polk	All male high school sophomores in the county who completed a questionnaire in 1964.	1,227
Strasburg	10 percent random sample drawn from 1974 delinquency petitions in three metropolitan New York counties.	532
Lefkowitz	Sample of third grade pupils in Columbia County, New York (1960).	875 - original (1960) 427 - follow-up (1970)
Hamparian	Juveniles born during 1956-60 having at least one violent offense, residing in the Columbus, Ohio area.	1,138

Source: 47, p. 4; 70, p. 84; and 82, p. 42

to qualify as a chronic offender. Here these different studies provide widely divergent results regarding chronicity and more specifically the serious chronic offender. For example, 23 percent of the Strasburg sample, 34 percent of the Hamparian sample, and 18 percent of the Wolfgang sample qualify as chronic offenders (82, p. 47; and 47, pp. III-3 to III-5) although the relationship of total chronicity to "serious" chronicity is unclear. All of these studies concur or suggest that the commission of a violent offense is not necessarily followed by the commission of another violent offense, but rather that violent offenses are almost "randomly distributed" in the total array of offenses. Also, the use of the Wolfgang-Sellin Seriousness Scale disallows comparisons with offense labels because of only a rough compatibility between these labels and "weighted" seriousness scores. An attempt to look at patterns of serious offenses for all of these studies suggest two related findings: (1) the distribution of violent offenses in cohort offense patterns seems highly arbitrary; and (2) what information can be brought to bear upon serious property crimes indicate that it is much more likely that a chronic offender will commit five consecutive property crimes than five violent crimes. Zimring acknowledges the failure to identify a sizeable subgroup of chronic violent offenders in the Wolfgang study and concludes that this type of research "is... unpromising...for those who are interested in the early identification of career violent offenders" (131, p. 43).

Additional findings regarding the patterns of chronicity, or more specifically, chronic serious crimes, are harder to sort out. The studies of Polk and Lefkowitz are essentially incompatible with those of Wolfgang, Strasburg, and Hamparian, but for different reasons. The Polk study, again, fails to provide much penetration into the aggregate "delinquency" label while the Lefkowitz effort deals with a construct more attuned to developmental psychology (e.g., aggression, psychopathology, social attainment) than issues of seriousness or offense specific considerations.

Attempts to look at the characteristics of the serious chronic offender are also hampered by different orientations to chronicity. Wolfgang (17, pp. 265-255) does note that age, race, and sex are highly associated with chronicity, a finding which Strasburg agrees with when confined to violent offenses. However, Hamparian (47, p. III-5) notes that race is only slightly related to the number of violent arrests thus suggesting a somewhat different conclusion. One difference here is that Wolfgang was looking at total arrests, while Hamparian was looking at violent arrests. If one can assume, as UCR information suggests, that the likelihood of black juveniles being more violent than whites is not as great as black juveniles committing a greater proportion of index property offenses, then a possible explanation becomes apparent. That is, it is quite likely that the broader category "chronicity" is more associated with race than is the sub-category "violent chronicity." Unfortunately, with the exception of the study of Hamparian, the other cohort studies do not spend a "substantial" amount of time looking at the relationship between the type, spacing, and configuration of the five chronic offenses, and offender characteristics. This kind of exploration would provide more important clues to the topic of interest here: the serious chronic juvenile offender. In the interim, one is required to extrapolate issues of total chronicity to the more serious subgroup.

Other characteristics and their relationship to chronicity have yet to be explored to any great extent. Intriguing questions emerge here, however, like the relationship between weapon use and serious chronicity, patterns of offenses, and the implications of substance abuse to chronic offender patterns. In regard to weapon use, Strasburg (82, p. 110) found no significant difference in weapon use between one time offenders, recidivists, and chronic offenders. Hamparian does note, however, that chronic offenders were arrested for a disproportionate amount of armed offenses. Hamparian

(47) also spends some time with the spatial distribution of the cohort but does not continue this type of comparison to the chronic offender.

The overall implications of this handful of studies toward the identification of the serious chronic offenders are interesting but not complete. Generally, the results that emerge regarding the chronic offender's sex and race are similar to that noted by UCR arrest data: preponderance of male, nonwhite individuals. The implications of specific age, however, are somewhat less clear because of masking effects, i.e., looking at specific age for all chronic offenders regardless of severity. Overall, the results of these studies suggest that a small number of all offenders may, as Wolfgang originally suggests, account for a disproportionate amount of crime although the actual amount remains uncertain. If the primary measure of seriousness is the offender who commits several violent offenses, the general rarity of the event combined with the implication that offenders specializing in violence are even more uncommon, suggests that this person may not exist in even minor quantities. However, it may also be that for the chronic serious property offender, this person not only exists but exists in substantial quantities. This plausible finding is given additional support by parole prediction studies which have continually noted that property offenses can be predicted based upon earlier property offenses. This conclusion is based upon implications of the cohort studies suggesting that chronicity is generally made up of property offenders who may commit an occasional "random" act of violence. It seems, therefore, that more time should be spent isolating the chronic serious property offender from the successively violent case.

Although the above mentioned cohort studies often undertake refined analyses and ask pertinent questions, one cannot help feel that such attempts are "piecemeal." This is, they are somewhat isolated in time since, as Zimring remarks, such efforts may be the products of and thus trapped by the time in which they are conducted (13, p. 36). It would be less refined and certainly controversial to add criminal history as a coded variable to UCR or local jurisdictions. While not a cohort study effort, the results of this endeavor might be to begin determining what volume of crime is due to the repetitive criminal versus the first or second offender. It was apparently this original suggestion by Wolfgang that prompted the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice emphasis on the habitual offender. Thus far, the extent to which one can answer this question still relies on inconsistent findings of inadequate sample studies. It seems that a positive alternative to the study approach is to study this basic notion with arrest data* on a larger level. Everyone should consider the importance of the original Wolfgang thought. However, one must also question whether continual answers to this question come entirely from the small sample study or large data base jurisdictions with the prospect of extrapolating the findings to more general levels.

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*It is recognized that confidentiality issues are continually involved although it may not be harmful to apply this to a limited extent to arrest data after complying with confidentiality guidelines.

CHARACTERISTIC OR COMPOSITE PROFILES

A limited amount of the literature reviewed permits a more comprehensive composite profile of certain types of serious offenders. Generally, this literature is the result of two research sources: that dealing with the gang member and attempts to characterize the violent California Youth Authority ward (74).

The Gang Member

Studies by Cohen (3), Miller (57, 58, 59), Friedman et al. (37, 38), Yablonsky (19), and Klein (54) generally agree that the gang member is primarily from the urban area, predominantly male, the range being generally "teen," with the racial/ethnic background varying from location to location. For example, Cohen (3, p. 89) indicates that Philadelphia gang members are predoninatly (97 percent) black. Miller's (57, p. 25) study of the gang member, based upon six major cities, however, reveals that only half of the gang members are black with the remaining percentage divided between Hispanic, Asian, and non-Hispanic white. Friedman et al. (38, pp. 564-565) and Yablonsky (19, p. 1429) indicate that gangs are racially mixed although proportions or percentages are not mentioned. All authors concur that socioeconomic status or social class is important; that is, the gang member is likely to come from poor neighborhoods or families. A variation to this general finding is offered by Miller, (58, pp. 24-25), who suggests that because the slum has moved out of the inner city, it is much more common now to find gangs in deteriorating "suburban" areas.

Friedman, et al. (38), in a more ambitious exercise than other authors, attempted, via interviews, to determine the relationship of 60 "behavioral" factors to gang affiliation. While comparing these factors for gang members versus nonmembers, they (38, p. 597-599) found that a high proclivity for violence, defiance of parents, more truancy, more alcohol use, and unrealistic success expectations typified the gang member.

The Violent Youthful Offender (California Youth Authority)

In a recent study of the California Youth Authority (CYA), personal and background characteristics for violent and nonviolent were compared for all first admissions to the CYA from 1973 through the middle of 1976 (74). Of five violent offense categories (murder, major assault, rape, manslaughter, and minor assault) compared with the nonviolent offenses, murderers were found to be the most different on an array of personal and background characteristics considered (74, pp. 11-17). Rapists, on the other hand, were found to be least dissimilar from the nonviolent offenders (74, p. 9). Four characteristics were found to distinguish nearly all the violent offense categories from the nonviolent offenders: higher proportions of Spanish-surnamed youth, court of commitment, low income neighborhood, and high Base Expectancy Scores.*

These two kinds of research are rare, in that they provide direct implications to total or composite "profiles" of offenders. While the attempt to characterize the serious juvenile offender has been hampered by the piecemeal nature of the literature, this kind of effort allows a more "composite" picture to emerge.

CONCLUSIONS

Chapter IV began with the goal of defining the characteristics of the "hidden" or known serious juvenile offender (relying upon the UCR seven index crimes as an indicator of "serious"). It became quickly apparent, however, that the unapprehended juvenile responsible for serious crime could not be identified due to the inability of self-report studies or victimization information to provide answers to these questions. (Appendix B, pp. 269-278).

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*This is a parole outcome prediction device developed by the CYA to help determine treatment effectiveness and to assess personal probabilities of successful readoption after release from the California Youth Authority.

An alternative strategy required that as much information as possible be collected which described the known or adjudicated serious juvenile offender relying upon currently available information and selected studies. An attempt was made to collect, compile, and modify "national" and State data sources permitting some view of those arrested, adjudicated, or committed. The collection of information was twofold, involving the collection of nationwide arrest, court, and corrections information accompanied by an attempt, via survey, to acquire similar information from State sources. Generally, the kinds of national information found were not adaptable for purposes of describing the serious juvenile offender. For example, national courts and corrections information (30, 113) obtained through the State survey do not provide sufficient age or offense information to make distinctions required by this report. On the other hand, victimization information (114) and national probability sample self-report studies (41) respectively speaking, rely upon information which is either not detailed enough or is based upon sample sizes too small to allow valid national estimates.

Only one major national data source, the UCR arrest information, meets the criteria of being based upon a substantial amount of the United States population and permitting age and offense (as a measure of seriousness) distinctions. The problem, of course, of inferring the characteristics of offenders from arrest information has been previously discussed and was recognized as a limitation. However, partial validation of UCR arrest findings came from an examination of court and corrections information received from States. Some of the findings noted based on arrest information were validated by court referral and correctional commitments information, thus partially substantiating the use of UCR arrest information to identify the offender.

The choice of which characteristics to examine was determined by two criteria: first, what was commonly available, and secondly, characteristics which possibly correlated with the likelihood of becoming a serious juvenile offender. As to what characteristic information is available, UCR arrest and most court and corrections sources commonly code specific juvenile age, sex, and race but little else. Therefore, a great amount of this chapter was devoted to an examination of these three variables. As to other characteristics which might "correlate" with serious juvenile crime, socioeconomic status, family and educational background were selected as candidates for examination, although the amount of useful "study" information located was quite limited since most such efforts dealt with delinquency rather than the more "serious" subcategories. Finally, some attention was given to the characteristics of the chronic serious juvenile offender as indicated from several court studies.

Some of the general findings to emerge from this chapter are:

- The general proportionate stability of specific juvenile sex and race distributions, suggesting that although total arrest rates fluctuate year to year, the relative proportion of subgroups (e.g., male to female, white to black) remain fairly stable.

- Although arrest rates are moderating or decreasing for many index crimes, it appears that older juvenile age groups (16- and 17-year-olds) are increasingly responsible for proportionately more arrests than the younger juvenile age groups. A comparison of arrest rates over time for violent and index property offenses suggests that the juvenile age cohorts of 10 and under, 11-12, and 13-14 are slightly declining (violent offenses) or stabilizing (property offenses) while the 16- and 17-year-old groups are increasing. This suggests a shift of the age distribution of arrests towards older juvenile age groups.

- Proportionately speaking, the arrest rates of females to males and whites to blacks for index property crimes (1976-1977) is comparable to that noted through the examination of court and corrections information collected as part of the national survey. This suggests that the proportionate distribution of males to females, whites to blacks, is not necessarily distorted in arrest statistics, but may be an accurate reflection of the actual proportions for adjudicated offenders.

- Arrest statistics suggest that it is increasingly likely that the black juveniles will be arrested for crimes of larceny rather than for the crime of motor vehicle theft. This shift in the kinds of property theft for which black juveniles are arrested is one of the major findings to emerge from the secondary analysis of UCR data although the reasons of motivations behind this finding are unclear.

- Attempting to examine the socioeconomic status and family and educational background of the serious juvenile offender is hampered by: (1) inadequate number of studies devoted to violent, aggressive behavior of adjudicated offenders; and (2) failure of studies to confine attention to the serious crimes in contrast to the more general "delinquency" criterion. The best evidence available suggests that socioeconomic status may be related to serious juvenile crime, but is masked by a bulk of studies examining the relationship between socioeconomic status and "total" delinquency.

- Attempts to characterize the serious chronic juvenile offender are not totally comparable, but suggest two major findings: (1) the chronic offender is rarely a person "specializing" in violent offenses and is more likely to be a person with multiple property or public order offenses and the possibility of a violent offense randomly distributed in the total sequence of offenses; and (2) similar to the findings derived from arrest, court, and corrections information the chronic offender is predominantly male and a minority individual.

- The gang member is typically characterized as being from the urban area, predominantly male, with racial affiliation varying from location to location, but often a minority youth. He is often a juvenile from a low-income or poverty inner city area, but there is evidence that as pockets of poverty move to deteriorating suburban areas that the gang member is more likely to be from this area.

TOWARDS A COMPOSITE CURRENT AND FUTURE PROFILE

While each of the above "findings" is illustrative, it is apparent that the numerous parts of this attempt to characterize the serious juvenile offender remain scattered throughout various parts of the chapter. Findings from specific sources are piecemeal since they are derived from official arrest, court, and corrections sources which provide different views of the person or conditions presumably responsible for serious juvenile crime and are based upon a fragmented array of study findings. In regard to the former problem of official information limitations, it is important to remember the fact that "special requests" involving cross-tabular computations were defined as falling outside the current definition of assessment. As a result, requests that variables such as race by sex or age by sex by offense be cross-tabulated by offense were not attempted. This limitation is critical since such comparisons might have been requested of UCR or State court and corrections information sources to more directly address the issues and questions of this chapter. For example, the development of racial comparisons related to arrests for serious crimes is an obvious descriptive task of this chapter, but a more meaningful approach to the topic would be to cross-tabulate race by specific juvenile age to achieve a more "dynamic" picture of the relationship between these variables. The alternative of not proceeding in this fashion is to compare the findings of each characteristic (e.g., age, sex, race) and attempt to at least informally compile the implications of each to different serious offenses. Each of the seven index crimes are used since they, by far, represent the basis upon which most information is collected. Also, an attempt to synthesize characteristics will be made for the two major crime indices related to the four violent offenses and the three index property offenses. Again, these profiles are based to a great extent upon UCR arrest data as supplemented by State court and corrections information.

The Violent Juvenile (Four UCR Violent Index Crimes Combined)

The following characteristic profiles of the serious juvenile offender are, according to the rate-frequency discussion (pp. 63-64), based upon a balance of two concerns. First, each profile provides a composite description of the current frequency of persons arrested or adjudicated for index offenses. For example, if the majority of those arrested for an offense are white, male, and 15 to 17 years of age, they will be characterized as such. Secondly, however, one needs to know how the characteristics of offender groups may be changing. This issue is approached as the proportionality of arrests in relation to the changing population of that subgroup. Thus, the resulting profile does not indicate changing proportions of arrest frequencies, but rather infers changing proportions based upon population considerations (rates). Over time inferences have to do with comparisons of disproportionality where subgroups are being arrested more or less frequently in relation to their total numbers. Assessing changing characteristics, therefore, involves the comparison of proportionality in relation to population. As a result, rates are the major tool for infering over time indications and do not accurately reflect relative proportions of those arrested (frequencies) for serious crimes.

Since violence appears to be the province of adulthood, the violent juvenile is generally the older of the juvenile age groups, usually age 17 (although most violence is not committed by juveniles). It is more likely that a male, white youth will either be arrested or adjudicated for a violent crime, although proportionately speaking (based upon rates), blacks are more heavily involved. Future trends suggest stability with this pattern except that disproportionately more arrests for juvenile crime may be 17-year-olds (based upon 1977 UCR information suggesting an increase only for this age group).

(1) The Juvenile Murderer--Likely to be 16 or 17 years of age, almost exclusively male, and often likely to be white. However, blacks are arrested for a disproportionate amount of murder offenses although there are indications that blacks are becoming less disproportionately involved.

(2) The Juvenile Rapist--Generally same as murderer--17-years-old, male, predominantly white. Future trends suggest an even greater likelihood that a juvenile arrested for this crime will be disproportionately black (1975-1977 trends).

(3) The Juvenile Robber--Similar to other violent profiles: 16- or 17-years-old, male, and black. Important distinctions between the armed and unarmed events are not currently possible. Some collected corrections information does suggest, however, an increase of females in armed robbery. This is based upon insufficient evidence, however.

(4) Aggravated Assault--Again, similar to the other three violent index crimes; older juvenile age groups (16, 17), male, and predominantly white (but disproportionately black). Here, however, UCR arrest data suggests that those arrested for the crime in the future will be disproportionately more likely to be white.

The Juvenile Committing Serious Crimes Against Property (Three UCR Property Crimes Combined)

The property crimes of burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle thefts are much more the province of juvenile age youth as reflected in the fact that the peak total arrest rate age for these offenses is 16, followed by 15, and then 17. These crimes are committed predominantly by males, but a much greater proportion of females are involved than with the violent crimes. More whites are involved according to arrest frequencies, but rate computations suggest a greater proportionate involvement of black juveniles.

(1) The Juvenile Burglar--Approximately 16, male, and white. Future indications are that white youth will be primarily responsible and that disproportionately fewer black youth will be arrested for this crime.

(2) The Juvenile Larcenist-Thief--Fifteen to 16 years of age, predominantly male but with substantial representation of females. Primarily white youth with the future implication that the racial proportions will remain stable.

(3) Juvenile Motor Vehicle Thief--Similar age (15, 16), primarily white males. Future indications are that juveniles arrested will proportionately be made up of even more whites as the black juvenile arrest rate for this crime continues to decrease.

Summary

These conclusions do, of course, require consideration be given to characteristic profiles based upon frequencies versus rates. In answer to this concern, the following table was developed to summarize profiles based upon frequencies versus a comparisons of disproportionality based upon rates (110, pp. 179, 180, and 185). In the latter case, the group which is arrested the most frequently in relation to its population is the group most disproportionately arrested for each index offense.

TABLE IV-10

COMPARISON OF CHARACTERISTICS PROFILES BASED ON FREQUENCIES AND RATES

OFFENSE	THE MAJORITY OF THOSE ARRESTED FOR THE FOLLOWING OFFENSES IS:			THE SUBGROUP MOST DISPROPORTIONATELY ARRESTED FOR THE FOLLOWING OFFENSES IS:		
	PEAK AGE	SEX	RACE	PEAK AGE	SEX	RACE
*VIOLENT	17	MALE	BLACK	17	MALE	BLACK
MURDER	17	MALE	BLACK	17	MALE	BLACK
FORCIBLE RAPE	17	MALE	BLACK	17	MALE	BLACK
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	17	MALE	WHITE	17	MALE	BLACK
ROBBERY	17	MALE	BLACK	17	MALE	BLACK
**PROPERTY	16	MALE	WHITE	16	MALE	BLACK
BURGLARY	16	MALE	WHITE	16	MALE	BLACK
LARCENY-THEFT	16	MALE	WHITE	16	MALE	BLACK
MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	16	MALE	WHITE	16	MALE	BLACK

* MURDER, FORCIBLE RAPE, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, AND ROBBERY COMBINED
** BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT COMBINED
SOURCES: III, PP. 179, 180 AND 185

As Table IV-10 suggests, there is a great similarity between modal groups based upon frequencies and those groups most disproportionately arrested based on rates, except in regards to race. Here, even though the modal frequency group alternates between white and black in all offense cases, juvenile blacks are most often arrested in relation to their total numbers. Thus, these profiles have different but non-comparable implications towards the identity of who is the serious juvenile offender.

These findings and attempted composite profiles, while somewhat different for the two indices and for specific crimes, do not represent findings different from that previously noted. Reiss (117, p. 84), for example, noted that the serious youthful offenders are male, minority youth concentrated in central cities and black youth are more likely to be chronic recidivists than white youth. While this chapter generally concurs with this finding, it should be noted that changing patterns of arrest rates over time suggest that "current" profiles are not sufficient. In fact, this chapter notes some additional future implications involving, for example, increased involvement of black youth in crimes of larceny paralleled by a decrease in motor vehicle theft. This suggests a crime shift of some proportion where the future larcenist is more likely to be black while the future motor vehicle thief is more likely to be white. This reasoning applies to other index crime categories where black juveniles are increasingly involved in robbery but less involved in aggravated assault, thus providind future descriptive meaning to the "offender" responsible for these crimes.

Although this chapter provides some clues as to how the offender for serious crimes is changing, the current picture provided differs little from that suggested by Reiss (117, p. 82). While "commonly known," these findings are a major result of the assessment process. The reason that this report repeats what may be commonly known is a function of the kinds of information available to answer important questions. For example, while the reviewed characteristics are typically age, sex, and race, it is important to note that little else is commonly available. It is no coincidence, therefore, that resulting serious juvenile offenders are continually characterized by these three simple variables when more intriguing "correlates" are of interest. Unfortunately, these intriguing variables, e.g., socioeconomic status, family (including charges of neglect and abuse), and educational background are not coded and compiled by enough official sources to be usable. The alternative, i.e., relying upon selected studies for study of these variables, is unsatisfactory because of limited sample sizes and different broad dependent variables (delinquency, violence, and deviance).

There are study methods that would permit a much better descriptive analysis than that attempted in this assessment. For example, special requests directed at the estimated 20 States that routinely collect other characteristic information would result in a refined descriptive analysis of both the circumstances from which the juvenile offender comes and appropriate personal attributes.* Until this kind of analysis is attempted, which goes beyond the guiding limitations of assessment, reanalysis of the commonly coded variables will produce little more of interest.

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*These kinds of analyses would directly follow from the information obtained as part of the court and corrections survey.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF INCIDENTS AND INDIVIDUALS

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report has attempted to determine, through the process of assessment and secondary analysis of existing information, answers to three topical areas and related questions. These topical areas involve (1) the amount of serious juvenile crime, (2) the spatial distribution and contexts of serious juvenile crime, and (3) the characteristics of those arrested or adjudicated for serious juvenile crime. Regarding each of these topics, a variety of findings were noted. Based on Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), both the violent* and property** crime indexes and most individual offense arrest rates are decreasing from the mid-1970's to the present. This suggests that serious juvenile crime, as measured by arrest rates for index crimes, is stabilizing or declining. It is emphasized that according to the definition employed in these volumes, not all incidents subsumed within the index crime categories can be considered "serious."*** However, since UCR is the only national source which provides detailed data relevant to this topic, the index crimes were used as a partial indicator of serious crimes. Briefly, the most significant findings to emerge relevant to each topic are:

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*Violent crime index includes murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault.

**Property crime index includes burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft.

***For a detailed discussion of definitional issues, see Volume II, Part A, Definition, of this report entitled, A National Assessment of Serious Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice System: The Need for a Rational Response (pp. 12-13).

Uniform Crime Reports Index Crime

- Based on 1977 UCR arrest frequencies, the index property crimes (burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft) are more the province of juveniles than are the violent crimes (murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault). In fact, arrests of juveniles for the three violent crimes only constitute 1 percent of all arrests for criminal offenses.

- Overall, UCR arrest rates for 1964 to 1977 indicate that juveniles are continuing to be involved in the property crimes of burglary and larceny-theft, but leveling off their involvement in the violent crimes of murder and rape. It is suggested that juveniles are "specializing" in crimes of material gain, while shifting away from involvement in crimes which require direct contact with the victim.

- The proportion of juveniles to other age groups (i.e., 18- to 20-year-olds and 21- to 64-year-olds) arrested for the crimes of robbery and aggravated assault has steadily increased from 1964 to the present.

Spatial Distribution, Contexts, Settings of Juvenile Index Crimes

- There is little resemblence between geographic regions or individual States ranked according to juvenile arrest rates for violent versus index property crime. This suggests that demographic distribution of index property and violent crime is not similar and that juvenile index property crime is more equally distributed than juvenile violent crime.

- There are indications that increased availability of automobiles, thus producing increased mobility, is partly responsible for changing patterns of theft and the changing motivation for criminal behavior among juveniles.

Characteristics of Juveniles Arrested and Adjudicated for Index Crimes

- Based on 1977 arrest rates, it appears that involvement in index property crime "peaks" around age 16, while involvement in the violent offenses increases throughout the juvenile years. Similar age distributions are found when each offense type is examined individually. Based on arrest frequencies, juveniles in the age group 15 to 17 appear to be most responsible for the juvenile index crimes.

- Based on arrest rates for the years 1964 to 1977, overall trends for index crimes combined indicate that older juveniles (16 to 17 years) are becoming proportionately more involved in index crime while involvement of younger juveniles (14 and under) had remained stable. However, very recent trends (1975 to 1977) indicate a possible decrease in rates for all index offenses. Therefore, rates that had increased during the 1960's and early 1970's may now be decreasing or stabilizing.

- Based on 1977 arrest frequencies, the juveniles most responsible for index offenses combined and individually are males. Although the arrest rates for females has increased more rapidly over the time period 1964 to 1977, males are still responsible for a much greater proportion of the index, and presumably serious, crimes.

- Arrest frequencies for 1977 indicate that black juveniles are "overrepresented" (i.e., arrested more frequently than would be expected based upon their population) in each of the index offenses, particularly the violent crimes. A comparison of arrest rates for 1964 to 1977 indicates an increasing likelihood that a juvenile arrested for some of the index crimes will be black.

- Based on court referral data for 1975, findings are noted which are similar to those associated with arrest rates. Namely, that older juveniles predominate in court referrals for the violent offenses, while the peak age for index property offenses is around 15; males are predominantly responsible for every index offense except shoplifting, which is approximately equally distributed among males and females; and nonwhites are overrepresented in court referrals for every offense, particularly for the violent crimes and purse snatching.

- Information derived from cohort studies indicates that the chronic offender (a person committing five or more index crimes) is predominantly male and a minority person.

These findings suggest a variety of implications, all of which should be carefully weighed. For example, the implications that both index offense arrest indexes and offense specific rates are decreasing in recent years is, in itself, important. Unfortunately, such a finding is based upon arrests and not incidents or offenses and is therefore less than conclusive. The decrease in arrest rates could be due, in part, to variations of police activity, changing clearance rates, or less group or gang involvement in specific offenses. While each of these is plausible, the actual importance of each is not understood. In fact, some of the above findings should generally be considered things which are "commonly known" and have been concluded as part of other studies. Unfortunately, more penetrating discussions about decreases in juvenile crime and the changing characteristics of those arrested or adjudicated for such crimes are dependent upon the ability to explain the noted changes in greater detail. Consider, for example, the following issues:

Serious Juvenile Crime, Uniform Crime Reports, and Offense Labels

This report suggested a variety of findings involving serious juvenile crime and offenders relying upon the seven UCR Index Crimes. The Uniform Crime Reports were employed due to the lack of any other national data sources which could provide detailed information relevant to this topic. However, based upon the Sellin-Wolfgang Scale, not all incidents contained within the index crimes can be considered serious. For example, petty larceny or joyriding would certainly be considered "less serious." The examination of alternate measures of crimes indicated that no viable method of distinguishing the less serious from the more serious incidents within the index is unavailable. Therefore, it was decided that both the four violent crimes and the three property crimes be examined in terms of their relevance to serious juvenile crime. *Ideally, it would be more illustrative to take police incident, arrest, and modus operendi information; transform this information into severity scores, and then examine the characteristics of those subsequently adjudicated for these specific incidents (offenses). Such an approach would assure first that the resulting criminal incidents were more clearly "serious," and the characteristics of those adjudicated were more clearly the serious juvenile offenders*. In the interim, one can only conclude that this assessment has examined arrest and limited offender information for crime and individuals based upon aggregate offense labels which provide only a crude basis for describing serious crime and offenders.

Comparative Limitations of Existing Information

This report provided evidence for the following statements: (1) that index juvenile crime may be stabilizing or decreasing; (2) that index property crime is more equally distributed geographically than violent juvenile crime; (3) and that the juvenile arrested for index crime is generally white (although increasingly likely to be black), 15 to 17 years of age, and predominantly male. These conclusions were derived from three chapters which, due to information limitations, were presented as separate assessment efforts. Unfortunately, the topics of crime and those responsible for crime are in reality not separate but related. For example, if one wanted to know in which States serious juvenile crime was increasing, or how the characteristics of juveniles arrested in urban areas compared with those in suburban areas of the country, existing information and its organization would make such comparisons difficult. Each of the topical areas--crime, its distribution, and the characteristics of those responsible--were discussed as noncomplementary efforts. This was due to the fact that no major source of information exists which: (1) describes the number of serious incidents or offenses for which juveniles are responsible and (2) characterizes those convicted for at least some of these offenses. The result of this information gap is that juvenile arrest data was the basis (nationally) for describing the volume of crime, its distribution, and those responsible. Time need not be spent defining the limitations of such an approach since arrests may not be an adequate measure of either the volume of crime or those responsible for the volume of crime.

One issue which is important to the understanding of this topic is chronicity or criminal history. For example, if it was possible to link total number of offenses with those responsible, or at least arrested, for those offenses, as well as criminal history of those arrested or adjudicated, such information would indicate what amount of crime was attributable to those with prior records. Such an approach would extend the findings of local cohort studies to a more appropriate national and State level using larger data bases of official arrest, court, or corrections information.

Minor information limitations become apparent if, for example, a cross-tabular comparison of age by race by offense is required. In this instance, the fact that UCR does not code by both variables simultaneously means that more illustrative descriptions of those arrested are not possible. What is also missing without more precise cross-tabular comparisons is the ability to compile composite descriptions of those arrested.

The Legal Label

The stabilizing or decreasing juvenile arrest rates for many index crimes is relatively uninformative without the ability to dissect these offense types according to their specific events. Zimring has previously noted how the inability to distinguish between types of aggravated assault and robbery requires that discussion of youthful violence remain somewhat superficial. This kind of criticism applies also to noted decreases in arrest rates for the property crime of motor vehicle theft where the label fails to distinguish between joyriding and actual theft. The result of this disallows a study of the extent to which each accounts for the decrease in the noted arrest rate. Similarly, larceny-theft is depicted as an offense whose arrest rate is decreasing, although it is commonly known that as of 1974, UCR began including theft of $50 or less, thus arbitrarily increasing rates for this offense and partially negating the reason for considering the offense as a serious crime. The logic of measuring severity by the Wolfgang-Sellin Severity Scale is critical here, since many incidents would receive scores which point out their "less serious" nature.

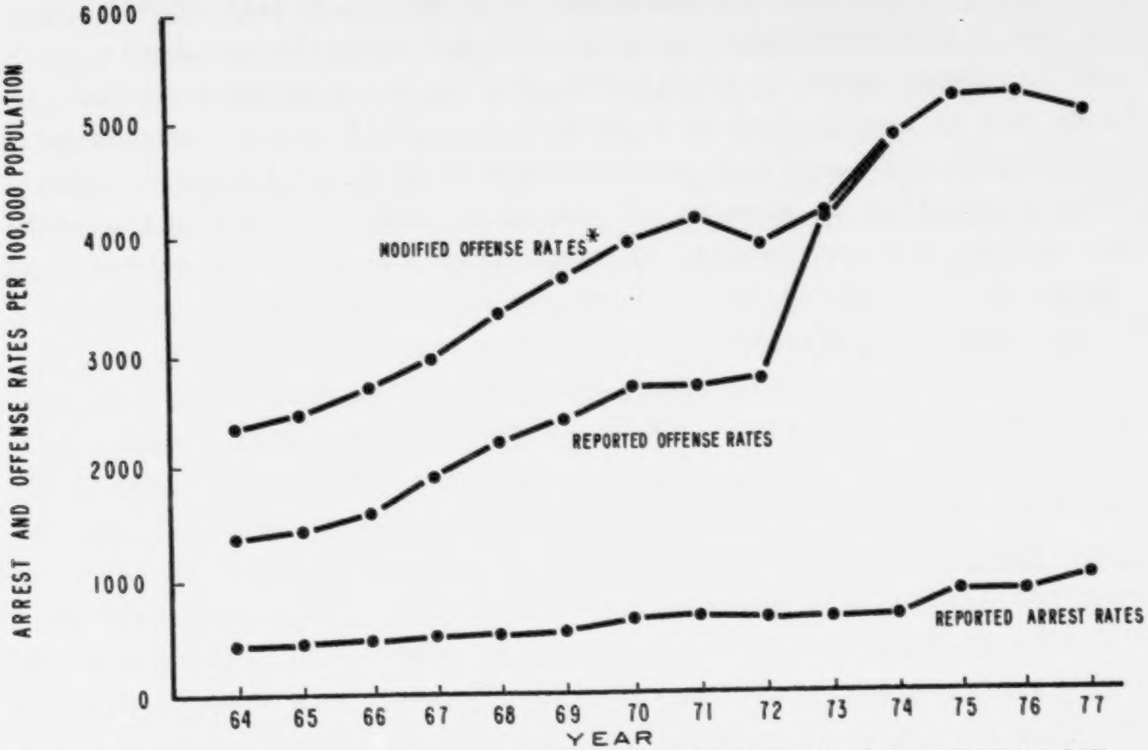
The inability to describe the ebb and flow of specific events within each index crime limits the ability to determine: (1) whether robbery committed by juveniles is increasingly involving the use of weapons (armed) or not (unarmed); (2) the extent to which aggravated assault involves the use of weapons, of what kind, and with what result (nature of injury inflicted); and (3) the nature of the contexts and targets for the crimes of burglary and larceny-theft and how they are changing over time. Each of these distinctions ideally represents a better organizing framework for the report. Certainly it would be far more informative to describe changing patterns of arrests and of those arrested for the more intriguing events subsumed within the seven broad index crime definitions. For example, comparing arrests and the characteristics of those arrested over time for armed versus unarmed robbery, types of aggravated assault (classified by type of weapon, nature of injuries inflicted) would provide a much richer descriptive base from which more meaningful speculation would stem. In regard to aggravated assault, Zimring has noted that the divergence of trends between homicide and aggravated assault could be due to the less lethal nature of aggravated assault or a shift in police reporting practices. The inability to describe incidents or arrests according to types of events results in a description of crime or arrest characteristic trends which are somewhat unclear.

Problems of the legal label also apply to the index property offenses which, due to the great volume of arrests for such offenses and the associated financial loss, represent an area of different questions. It was noted in this report that juvenile crime is, according to arrest data, becoming increasingly crime of material gain. This conclusion is important to the extent to which one can penetrate the labels of burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft. Essentially, it was noted that juvenile arrests for burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft are stabilizing or declining. However, given that little is known about the changing patterns of the targets of property crime, the labels provide little assistance in predicting future property crime patterns. Questions involving whether burglary is being displaced from commercial establishments to residences would be important as would be additional knowledge of the location and dollar loss associated with larceny-theft offenses. Again, these kind of event specific descriptions should, ideally, form the basis for future study of serious juvenile crime and those responsible.

Official Data as a Tool of Research

The extent to which one can describe increases or decreases in serious juvenile crime and those responsible is currently dependent upon official data; primarily that of the Uniform Crime Reports. Other than the commonly discussed controversial aspects of UCR, mention should be made of the extent to which such data is conducive to research purposes. UCR does not, after all, claim to be organized for research purposes but rather "its fundamental objective is to produce a reliable set of criminal statistics for use in law enforcement administration, operation and management." This decision is evident since the capabilities, organization, and presentation of yearly UCR arrest information is not well suited to answering, for example, the questions of this report. There are "ideal" research uses which are certainly beyond the existing capability of the UCR system. The major one here is linking together offense and arrest data, thus providing a picture of reported offenses attributable to juveniles arrested while considering clearance rates. This is critically important given the dramatic increases in reported offenses from 1964 to 1977 which are accompanied by stable arrest rates for these same years (see Figure V-1, p. 233). Certainly, the ability to link together offense and arrest data would help explain this disparity, as well as to examine the question of whether juveniles are increasingly being arrested in groups for individual offenses.

Although not confined to juveniles, Figure V-1 clearly indicates the disparity between reported offenses and arrests (Appendix E, Table E-48, pp. 360-361). Certainly, in relation to juveniles, it would be important to understand: (1) whether juveniles are being arrested for more offenses; (2) to what extent increased offenses committed by juveniles are more or less serious as determined by a measure of severity; and (3) what patterns of juvenile arrests to offenses emerge when compared over time. The inability to answer these kinds of questions is probably the single greatest drawback of official data regarding the measure of juvenile crime and the relationship between numbers of juvenile offenses and arrests.



* THE "MODIFIED" OFFENSE RATES SHOWN FOR THE YEARS 1964 THRU 1973 REFLECT RECOMPUTATIONS MADE BY UCR IN 1974 (108, P.55) IN ORDER TO ADJUST FOR A CHANGE IN THE DEFINITION OF LARCENY-THEFT. (SEE PAGE 97 OF THIS TEXT FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE DEFINITIONAL CHANGE.)

VARIATIONS IN INDEX OFFENSE AND ARREST RATES REPORTED FOR THE NATION (1964-77)

FIGURE V-1

SOURCE: SEE APPENDIX E, TABLE E-48

Other more realistic analyses could be made involving, for example, the request that UCR categories of urban, suburban, and rural be defined in a way comparable with United States census definitions. Certainly, the ability to make urban to suburban rate comparisons would be facilitated by this procedure. Similarly, the coding of age, sex, and race of those arrested represents the most convenient variables available, but are not the most useful. Coding of the racial background of those arrested is necessarily superficial without some measure or index of socioeconomic status, a variable which is critical to the understanding of what presently are rather superficial descriptions. Finally, as mentioned earlier, the coding of additional variables will matter little unless the UCR system eventually permits special requests of cross-tabular comparisons, e.g., age by race by socioeconomic status. Since UCR is not currently organized to permit these comparisons, better composite profiles derived from methods of tabular analysis (thus permitting an element of analytic "control") are not possible. The result will continually be similar to the kinds of superficial comparisons attempted herein with the amount of insight obtained being somewhat restricted.

A peculiar situation does arise since the orientation of UCR is not towards research. UCR is, after all, the only source of aggregate national crime data and therefore represents a major tool for researchers and policymakers. In fact, given that UCR may be more important to researchers and policymakers than to law enforcement administrators, questions involving the future implications of UCR are yet to be resolved. Certainly, answers to these questions are a prerequisite to determining the future purpose and structure of UCR.

Descriptive Limitations and Prospects

While one might conclude according to this report that: (1) serious juvenile crime may be stabilizing or decreasing, (2) those arrested for certain kinds of offenses are more likely to be black than expected based on their population, and (3) different juvenile age patterns result when violent and property offenses are compared. These selected conclusions are far outweighed by questions that cannot be addressed and the reasons for not being able to do so. The variety of materials drawn together in this report are themselves indicative of the general disarray of available information. A report as extensive as this and drawing upon various kinds of official and study information has produced findings lacking detailed insight. The reasons for this are, however, partly apparent: (1) official information lacks specific descriptive abilities but is based upon large sample or population sizes; while (2) research studies are capable of more penetrating analysis but lack sizeable sample sizes and complimentary orientations. Obviously, one future orientation might require that the limited findings of the research study be applied and tested with large official data sources. A prime example of this is chronicity, which cohort studies have postulated to be a major explanatory feature of serious crime. Unfortunately, current inferences drawn from cohort studies are not sufficiently evident to justifiably influence policy decisions. A logical next step, therefore, would be to apply the notion of chronicity as a criminal history variable or series of variables to a sample of major reporting jurisdictions. Assuming large case sizes of arrests, court referrals, or correctional commitments over time, the implications of chronicity for crime and offenders could be assessed.

This reasoning applies to other descriptions of serious juvenile crime where the findings of the research study are applied and tested with large case data sources. A prime example is the indication that socioeconomic status, while not being related to all self-reported crime, is possibly related to crimes of a more serious nature. Unfortunately, this cannot be examined with large data sources since socioeconomic status variables are not coded or commonly available with official data sources. Again, the inclusion of this variable in UCR, at least on a temporary basis, might permit the additional exploration of this relationship with larger population sizes. The desirable alternative is to conduct a major self-report study involving enough cases so that various "serious" subsets of behavior could be examined in relation to socioeconomic status. The estimated cost of such a study might, however, be a prohibitive feature.

RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

The above conclusions and discussion, while reflecting numerous limitations and caveats, suggest a variety of research recommendations which can be ranked according to several criteria. Generally, these criteria involve cost, time, resources, and access.

Organized along two lines, the recommendations can be labeled short or long range recommendations which reflect these criteria; i.e., the short range recommendations involve less cost, time, and resources and are typically oriented towards the local rather than national level. One major consideration in examining research priorities is the issue of benefits at the national versus local level. A national data collection effort might be suited to answer the questions of this report, although the information collected would have to comply with some "uniformity" standards. Also, it can be assumed the greater the uniformity requirements the more simple the nature of the information collected. Thus, while one might have better national information on adjudicated offenders, the variables by which one characterizes them would not be much more complex than age, sex, and race currently coded by UCR. Therefore, it seems that maximum benefit regarding future research prospects concern the local, rather than national picture. The following recommendations are proposed:

- An extension of the State survey described herein should be undertaken. This extension would involve intensive contact (including travel) or special requests directed at those States with the most useful arrest, court, or corrections information. Where possible, special requests of variables not commonly known should be attempted. Primary emphasis would be upon the characterization of the serious juvenile offender.

- A smaller subset of States having arrest, court, and corrections data should be studied. The objective here would be twofold: (1) to attempt to follow the characteristics of those arrested, referred to court, and corrections as they proceed through the system; and (2)to attempt to characterize the person apprehended at each stage of the system. Primary emphasis would be upon the interaction of system decision with the characteristics of those retained at each stage.

- As a further extension of the survey, an attempt should be made in at least one State or jurisdiction to tie together reported offenses with those arrested for those offenses. The primary emphasis would be upon determining the relationship between offenses committed by juveniles and the numbers of juveniles arrested for these offenses.

- At a single jurisdiction, a measure of incident severity based upon police incident description should be applied to a sample of reported offenses. Characteristic profiles of those subsequently arrested and adjudicated for these "incidents" would then be developed and compared to profiles based upon the offense label. Primary emphasis would be upon bypassing the legal label and characterizing serious offenders upon more serious incidents typically "hidden" within offense labels.

- Again, at a State level, an effort should be made to implement the study of chronicity and its relationship to crime (arrests or offenses). This would involve the coding of "criminal history" related variables and the ability to assess the relationship of this history to offense severity. Primary emphasis would be upon determining the amount of crime (over time) attributable to those with prior records and the nature of that relationship.

- A monitoring study should be undertaken in a random sample of UCR reporting jurisdictions at the State and sub-State level. Major attempts should be made to determine the relationship between criminal activity and the ability of UCR reporting to accurately depict that activity over time. Emphasis would be upon further describing the usefulness of UCR as a research tool.

While these recommendations are certainly feasible due to their estimated cost and the few resources required, mention should be made of a more "ideal" study effort. While certainly not an inexpensive effort, an attempt could be made using the self-report method to: (1) estimate nationally, serious crime incidents known and unknown to the police; and (2) collect via questionnaire, characteristic information permitting description of perpetrators for all incidents and then compare crime and characteristic information with that collected by UCR. Such an approach is suggested by the inability of victimization information to provide a comparable measure of crime and offenders to official data, while existing self-report efforts are based upon sample sizes too small to permit valid comparisons.* Other ideal efforts involve national data collection efforts that are probably too costly to justify the expense, such as improving the research value of other information collection agencies to better address the topics and questions of this report. This does not apply to all agencies, however, since Juvenile Court Statistics is scheduled, sometime in 1979, to begin producing documents more suited to this report's objectives.

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*The self-report study currently in progress at the Behavioral Research Institute based upon a national probability sample may be helpful. A report is scheduled to appear sometime in 1979.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This report was structured around key topics and questions which, if answered, could provide numerous policy implications. The three topics, each based upon current issues of importance, are: Serious Juvenile Crime--Patterns and Trends; the Spatial Distribution, Contexts and Settings of Serious Juvenile Crime; and the Characteristics of Those Arrested or Adjudicated for Serious Juvenile Crime. While the questions are important, the total amount of information collected was not impressive for fundamental reasons. These issues are purely descriptive, and were asked in a way that pertinent descriptive information could answer. Unfortunately, in regard to each topic basic problems were encountered. First, once a tentative definition of serious juvenile crime was established, it was noted that there was no way to determine total offenses committed by juveniles (arrested or otherwise). This was followed by an attempt to estimate crime based upon the only national data source permitting age and offense breakdowns: UCR arrest statistics. Inferences were made and the arrest data was largely responsible for assessing the spatial distribution of serious juvenile crime. While arrest data was used as a measure of crime and its distribution, it was found that no national data source permitted discussion of offenders by age and offense severity. UCR arrest data was therefore used as a measure of national offender characteristics also. While this information was supplemented by State court and corrections data, the entire exercise was limited by the generally poor quality of existing information. The information compiled to answer key questions was simply inadequate. However, it can be recalled that the goal of this report was to answer key questions to the extent possible and assess the ability of existing information to answer these questions in so doing. There are of course, limited policy implications. For example:

Serious Juvenile Crime

Arrest information suggests that juvenile age youth are increasingly and predominately in crime of material gain. This news comes amidst the indication that both index property and violent offense arrest rates are stabilizing or declining from their peak values of the mid-1970's. Thus, while some crime switching is becoming evident, it appears that neither violent or index property crime will, in the near future, be as high as they were several years ago. Also, there are indications that the 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old age groups are becoming increasingly involved in property crime, somewhat of a surprise given that such crime has increasingly been the province of juvenile age youth. As to the policy importance of these conclusions, it might be suggested that murder and forcible rape are not the indicators of juvenile violence that robbery and aggravated assault seem to be, although for difference reasons. While robbery also roughly fits the material gain hypothesis, the implications of continued increases in arrest rates for aggravated assault are more difficult to decipher.

Generally, the conclusion of reduced crime fits with that recently made by Doleschal who noted that, while UCR offense data reports dramatic increases in crime (due presumably to increased reporting), crime itself may be remaining stable or decreasing. While arrest data generally conforms to this finding for serious juvenile crime, it appears that crime may become more concentrated in terms of geographical area, as well as the characteristics of those responsible.

Spatial Distribution of Serious Juvenile Crime

Although an intriguing topic, the reality is that little information exists which sheds light on the issue. The often discussed urban, suburban, rural, and city size rankings of crime are beginning to give way to discussions of enclaves, neighborhoods, and contexts, which increasingly appear to be the critical spatial "correlates" of serious juvenile crime. Policy and control priorities must now break down the urban and suburban area into subareas of crime. Crime control and prevention efforts would learn much from such an analysis.

Characteristics of Juveniles Arrested or Adjudicated for Serious Crimes

The identity, background, and living arrangement of the serious juvenile offender is one of great interest, although only superficial profiles of those arrested or adjudicated emerge. There are numerous questions regarding predictability, punishment, and preventive confinement, which follow knowledge of the identity of the serious offender. Some things are clear: index offenders are primarily male and white, but blacks are becoming responsible for a greater portion of index crime. Hidden within the increasing black arrest rates are numerous cultural and economic correlates, none of which are well understood. One could base priorities on "race," with the result missing the concentration of crime, and thus the more pertinent and informational concerns. Generally, the knowledge is too superficial to serve as a base for any firm conclusions. Boland and Wilson did venture some conclusions suggesting a two track justice system designed to deal with the "routine" versus "intensive" offender. Obviously, based upon the chronic offender studies, such studies are an insufficient basis upon which to suggest revisions of the criminal justice system.

The relatively volatile changes of black arrest rates represent a challenge to researchers and ultimately to policymakers. However, the knowledge of offenders based upon age, sex, and race per se will never be a sufficient basis for any policy decision. Not only are these variables not illustrative of conditions or attributes critical to policymaking, but they are potentially misleading due to the more important correlates which they often mask.

In summary, future orientation should attach great significance to the need for critical and well timed studies like those suggested. While the short-term prospect for national aggregate data for measuring serious juvenile crime and the juvenile offender is not impressive, there are local and regional efforts which could, within a limited amount of time, provide important dividends. Amidst all of these questions, the indication that serious juvenile crime is stabilizing or decreasing provides adequate reason to find out where and for whom it is or is not stabilizing.

APPENDIX A

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REFERENCES

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APPENDIX B

MEASURING SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME: A CRITIQUE OF OFFICIAL STATISTICS, SELF-REPORTS, AND VICTIMIZATION

MEASURING SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME: A CRITIQUE OF OFFICIAL STATISTICS, SELF-REPORTS, AND VICTIMIZATION

Introduction

Government at all levels collects data on crime and delinquency. Researchers administer self-report delinquency instruments and survey the general population to measure victimization. But while self-report studies always report more offenses per capita than do official statistics, it is widely believed that respondents conceal their delinquent acts. While victimization studies turn up more crimes than are reported to the police, they also report that victims of some offenses fail to report the crimes to the interviewer even though they reported them to the police. Worse yet, the relations between delinquency and other variables seem to vary when different measures of delinquent behavior are used. Thus, while in most cases the existence of several measures of a variable enables researchers to increase the precision and reliability of measurements, in the case of delinquency the existence of several measures has largely led to conflicting conclusions.

There are four broad questions addressed by this research, as follows:

(1) What is the magnitude of the juvenile crime problem?

(2) What are the correlates of serious juvenile crime?

(3) What changes have occurred over time in the magnitude of the problem?

(4) What changes have occurred over time in the correlates of serious juvenile crime?

To speak to any of these four types of questions, the analyst must decide what phenomena will be counted as instances of crime. That decision is not only an issue of whether to use official statistics, self-report data, or victimization surveys, but includes the fundamental question of whether the number of offenders, offenses, or victims is the most relevant yardstick. Unfortunately for decision-making, all three measures are good indicators, and the choice between them is more contingent upon the choice of data collection technique than it is upon theoretical arguments. When asking "How serious is the problem?" one can justifiably respond with data on how many children have committed serious delinquent acts, how many serious delinquent acts were committed, or how many people suffered from serious delinquent acts. Which measure one uses is generally to be determined by whether we use official statistics, self-report data, or victimization surveys, and the choice between those three methods of data collection, in turn, is made on the basis of whether they can provide information on the variables of interest. For example, if one wants to know something about the magnitude of the juvenile crime problem in 1935, one is forced to use official statistics on arrests (i.e., offenders) because there are no self-report or victimization data available that far in the past. Or if one wants to know something about the relationship between the offender and the victim, one must pass by official statistics because they do not contain that type of data.

There are, then, a number of demands placed on the data by each of the four types of questions considered here. Further, it is not at all clear what should be taken as the measure of crime, regardless of which method of data collection is used. The best--probably unavoidable--procedure would seem to be to use the method of data collection which is best suited to the question at hand, which will in turn restrict the choice of the measure of crime to either offenders, offenses, or victims.

Official Statistics, Self-Report Surveys, and Victimization Surveys

The following includes a general discussion of each of the three types of data, pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of each.

Official Statistics

Government agencies at all levels collect data on what they do, and in the case of law enforcement they compile statistics on the basis of those data. There are a number of advantages to the use of these aggregate statistics. First, the data collection is performed essentially without cost to the researcher. When considering collecting data nationwide, this advantage alone can be persuasive. In addition, there is some reduction in the ambiguity involved in interpreting the meaning of the offense when using official statistics as opposed to other methods: one can go to the law to find the nominal definition of an offense, rather than relying on what a respondent meant by terms like "beat up" or "take."

Other advantages to the use of official statistics include the exclusion of trivia from most police reports. In self-report research, it is not uncommon to find that many of the offenses reported are not actually acts which would result in criminal charges if detected (6, p. 13). The use of discretion by the police serves to eliminate these nonoffenses from official statistics to a large degree. Further, this method of data collection does not require the cooperation of the offender.

There are concomitant disadvantages to the use of official statistics, however. The most commonly cited is that some unknown proportion of the offenses that occur are never brought to the attention of the police. There is evidence that this varies by offense (10) and race of the victim (9) and that it changes over time (12, p. 21). It is also apparently the case that not all offenses reported to the police are in turn reported to the FBI for inclusion in aggregate statistics (2, p. 31). This, no doubt varies by jurisdiction.

The fact that official crime statistics rely on processing by law enforcement agencies results in additional problems with the data generated. One basic difficulty is that the discretion of the police officer in deciding whether what is reported is in fact a criminal offense and whether to arrest the offender has caused some to question the reliability of crime statistics. That is, one officer may determine that an incident is a chargeable offense while another may not. Once those decisions are made, an offense or arrest still must make it through the administrative structure of the police department in order to be reported to a central recording agency. If one's interest is in actual criminal behavior, estimates based on official statistics will be biased insofar as the police officer's and department's "discretion" is used differently than expected.

There are two types of aggregate official statistics widely available: the number of offenses known to the police and the number of arrests. Police agencies representing over 95 percent of the population of the United States report to the FBI the number of selected offenses reported to them, excluding those which were determined to be unfounded. These offenses, the "Part I" offenses, are homicide of all types except justifiable homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. Age- and offense-specific arrest data on all offenses are submitted by police agencies representing about 75-80 percent of the United States population (the "shifting sample") referred to by Zimring (22).

While it is generally accepted that the number of offenses known to the police yields a more accurate estimate of the number of crimes than does the number of arrests, the former still has its problem. As was mentioned above, some unknown proportion of the offenses that occur go unreported, and some of those reported to the police are not reported to the FBI for inclusion in national reports. What problems does this pose for analysis?

It has been suggested that variations in these police reporting practices can dramatically affect official statistics on crime. Instances can be found, in fact, to show that serious underreporting of offenses to the FBI has occurred in a number of police departments at one time or another. It would appear, however, that it would require collusion between the FBI and local agencies for such underreporting to distort Uniform Crime Reports statistics to any appreciable degree, so long as one is concerned with regional or national trends and estimates. The FBI routinely edits reports submitted on offenses known to the police; in 1976 about 4,300 letters were sent to local agencies questioning "sharp changes in crime figures" to determine whether they were due to changes in the local reporting system (19, p. 3). When reporting changes are found, that jurisdiction is omitted from the reporting system for two years, and when it is brought back into the system the previous figures are corrected to reflect what is thought to be the true level. Thus, although statistics found in UCR are based on varying numbers of jurisdictions, this seems to be the only rational method of presenting that type of data, and the "shifting sample" should be accurate for the computation of offense rates. (The denominator is adjusted to reflect the population represented by the reporting jurisdictions). It is nevertheless the case that UCR data on the number of offenses known to the police cannot be taken as the actual number of offenses that occur.

Statistics on offenses known to the police, of course, cannot distinguish juvenile from adult offenders. Arrest statistics must be used for that. Figures on the number of youths arrested each year are susceptible to manipulation by local agencies, just as are the data on offenses known to the police. And according to one source (22, p. 22) age specific arrest data are not audited by the FBI, as are the offenses-known data. This certainly does leave room for manipulation on the part of police departments trying to improve their enforcement or crime control records. When considering the national picture, however, one must consider how much distortion such dishonesty could cause, and the data must be studied for evidence of it.

There were 7,912,000 arrests reported to the FBI in 1976 from agencies representing approximately 175 million people, or about one arrest for every 22 people in the population. According to one source (23, p. 35) the city of Chicago was omitted from the 1976 arrest data; the writer did not utilize the 1976 data for that reason. If, however, the city of Chicago had a crude arrest rate equal to that of the rest of the nation, it would have reported approximately 140,000 arrests that year.* Thus, if Chicago had been included in the 1976 age specific arrest data it would have added less than 2 percent to the total number of arrests reported. Put differently, if Chicago had been included but had reported no arrests, it would have distorted the data by less than 2 percent. While this sort of argument does not prove that there are not gross inaccuracies in police reporting systems, it is instructive in suggesting that such local inaccuracies cannot cause wild fluctuations in reported statistics unless many agencies act in conjunction to do so. There is no evidence or rationale for such a conspiracy.

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*The index crime rate for Chicago in 1976 was within 7 percent of that for all cities (18, p. 170).

In assessing the likely distortion induced in the UCR data by police reporting procedures--especially for those concerned with the "shifting sample" included in arrest data--one can look at the published data to determine how much variation has occurred from year to year. If the rate of arrests reported is constant or changes smoothly, one can conclude that there are no major random shocks at work.* Between 1968 and 1976, for example, the rate of arrests per 100 population varied between 3.9 and 4.6. The largest single jump was between 1973 and 1974 when the rate moved from 4.2 to 4.6. No other change was more than 0.2, or approximately 4 percent. Other easily computed rates like the percent of arrests that were males or under 18 years of age were similarly invariant (18, p. 177). The sample of jurisdictions that submit arrest data to the FBI may change from year to year, but the final outcome data seem fairly robust.

It is, of course, the case that the more detailed analysis any data are subjected to, the more important it is to eliminate errors. If UCR arrest data are broken down far enough, random fluctuations will no doubt appear. It is the responsibility of the critic, however, to show that changes in the statistics are due to reporting errors or inconsistencies. When the behavior in question is examined closely enough there are "random" fluctuations in the behavior itself. For purposes of a nationwide study, those problems are likely to be insignificant.

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*If such random influences are very large, one would not expect them to "cancel out." Indeed, the degree to which they do mask one another is an indication of their absence of a distorting effect. There is one complication, however: the FBI corrects its old data each year on the basis of discovered reporting changes, at least for offenses--known data and probably for arrest data. So the data here may be artificially "smoothed." But it is, after all, the corrected data that would be used.

Similarly, other variables that affect offense-known and arrest data may be important when analyzing city or precinct data, but become unimportant on the national scene. It is not unusual for city crime rates to vary by 10 or 20 percent in a single year. Responsible are not only changes in criminal behavior itself but, perhaps more importantly, changes in law enforcement activity. It would indeed be misleading to assume that the number of robberies that occur in a large city each year is represented by the number of arrests for robbery. But "crack downs" are essentially local phenomena, and those influences can be expected to wash out on a national level. The law of large numbers may technically be applicable only to random samples, but it seems to work under most other circumstances as well.

Another problem that has been suggested to exist in official statistics when used to estimate the incidence of crime is that characteristics of the offender may result in an increased likelihood of arrest. It has been suggested, for example, that offenses by juveniles may be overrepresented in arrest statistics because youths are more likely to be arrested in groups than are adults or because the clearance rates for crimes committed by juveniles may be greater than those for adult crimes (22, pp. 22-23). Those circumstances would indeed tend to overestimate the number of offenses committed by juveniles if the number of arrest of juveniles is used to make the estimate.

Several points must be made about that type of problem. First, the fact that juveniles are more likely than adults to be arrested in groups may cause an overestimate of the number of offenses committed by juveniles, but it does not affect the estimate of the number of juveniles who commit offenses. Second, there are data available which should be useful in adjusting arrest data to correct for that bias (e.g., the literature cited in 5, pp. 114-115, and that study itself). Third, speculation about the possibility that a youthful auto thief is more likely to be noticed by police than would be an adult thief should be tempered with speculation that the agility and physical condition of a juvenile offender may reduce the likelihood of his being apprehended for some types of crimes, and the increased probability of a juvenile not having a prior record may make him less likely to be formally arrested than an adult. Finally, the possibility that age may be correlated with the likelihood of arrest would not affect the analysis of trend data. As long as that sort of bias in the system is constant over time it is unimportant to the analysis of changes in the prevalence or incidence of juvenile crime.

Self-Report Delinquency

Because of the many problems inherent in the use of official statistics to measure delinquency, an alternative method has been developed. Rather than allowing the criminal justice system to identify delinquents, those who use the self-report method use responses from samples of youngsters to measure delinquency. A series of offenses is chosen, and the children are asked in an interview or questionnaire survey to report their involvement with each offense. A typical question is:

> How many times in the past year have you taken something not belonging to you worth less than $2?
>
> 1. Never
> 2. One time
> 3. Two or three times
> 4. Four or five times
> 5. More than five times

The principle advantage to the self-report method is that it is independent of the efficiency of the criminal justice system in detecting and recording crime. Presumably, all of one's offenses are known to oneself, so there lies the perfect source of information. It does not matter whether an offense is inherently likely or unlikely to be detected. If the proper questions are asked, every offense within the respondent's memory should be accessible.

Further, the researcher is free to define the offenses as he chooses. Thus, classifications of offenses can always be appropriate to the research task, and the analyst is not tied to legal definitions of what is delinquent. This can be particularly important if it is desirable to include as delinquent behaviors those which are generally not acted upon by the police.

The self-report method solves many of the problems encountered in the use of official crime statistics. The self-report method, for example, allows the researcher to connect each offense reported with an offender. It avoids the problem of police selectivity by variables like age, race, and sex. It has the possibility of collecting detailed descriptions of offenses to assess their actual seriousness, regardless of their labels. It is not age-bounded, as arrests in fact are; a 10-year-old is unlikely to be arrested even if apprehended, for the most part. And self-reports have the ancillary advantage of being able to provide other information about the respondent at the time that his/her offense record is being recorded. Thus, the researcher can ask the respondent about demographic characteristics, family structure, and attitudes.

Like official statistics, self-reports are not without their critics. One major criticism of the method is that, unlike official measures, it relies on the cooperation of the respondent. Failure to cooperate can take three forms: the respondent may lie to appear less delinquent, he can lie to appear more delinquent, or he can simply refuse to take the whole exercise seriously. Another major problem is that the respondent obviously can report only what he can recall. Similarly, the technique relies on the reading ability of the respondent if a questionnaire rather than an interview is used, and delinquents are known to have lower reading abilities than children who are not delinquent.

Just as official measures use offense classifications that may be vague to the researcher, the offense descriptions in a self-report instrument may be interpreted differently by different respondents. Simple words like "take," "steal," or "theft" can be interpreted in quite different ways, and terms like "without the owner's permission" or "beat up on someone" are certainly no less ambiguous than the legal definitions of the offenses to which they are applied. The response categories used in some self-report instruments can be equally open to interpretation; how often is "often?"

A self-report delinquency questionnaire must specify for the respondents what period of time is appropriate in recalling offenses. If the time period is very long, it may be expecting too much for the respondent accurately to count the number of offenses he/she has committed. If the time period is fairly short, e.g., six months, infrequent but serious offenses will be missed. It is, of course, impossible to get a count of all offenses in the respondent's lifetime from a self-report instrument.

One of the discoveries made early in the development of the self-report method was that "everybody does it." While that may be a valuable finding, it may also make delinquency unanalyzable; one cannot account for the variance in an attribute that does not vary. Insofar as self-reports uncover a range of delinquent involvement, they can be more useful than official records, which, because they show recorded delinquency to be a relatively rare phenomenon, tend to create a delinquent/nondelinquent dichotomy. But when self-reported delinquency does not vary, one cannot analyze it.

One of the reasons that self-reports tend to show that delinquency is ubiquitous is that most of the offenses reported in such studies are rather trivial matters. Gold found that half of the acts of property destruction, 25 percent of the confidence games, and 20 percent of the personal assaults in his self-report study "could not conceivably be called chargeable offenses" (6, p. 13). His study was unusual in that he was able to probe for details of each self-reported offense. It is likely that similar proportions of offenses in other self-report studies are not offenses at all. Even assuming that all of the offenses reported are crimes, most studies that use unselected school samples for respondents uncover largely minor offenses. In one widely cited data set (8) approximately 30 percent of the offenses reported were theft of less than two dollars.

The inclusion of so many trivial and nonoffenses in self-report studies is a necessity because of the low incidence of serious crime in the general population, but it is a major problem if one is interested in serious crime. If the FBI's "Index" crimes (to be discussed below) are taken as the "serious" crimes, there were 11.3 million such serious offenses reported to the police in 1976. Even if one assumes that they were committed by 11 million different offenders, one would have to query an average of 20 people before finding one who had committed a serious crime. In fact, of course, there are far fewer than 11 million people in the country who commit an index crime each year, and very few of those who do so are enrolled in public schools where almost all self-report delinquency samples are drawn. Therefore, ignoring problems of the low reading ability of delinquents, it is still virtually impossible to uncover enough serious offenses in most self-report studies to make analysis possible.

A related problem in self-report data is the question of the representativeness of the samples used, which are, again, usually in-school teenagers. Serious delinquents are less likely to appear in these samples than are other children because they are likely to be truant, and they are more likely than others to drop out of school altogether. Incarcerated offenders, obviously, have no chance of appearing in those samples.

Self-reports, then, have a number of advantages and disadvantages. They give the researcher a great deal of control over who is examined, the definitions of offenses, and other data of the respondent. Self-reports presumably can measure the "dark figure" (3) of unreported crime because the source of information is the offender himself. But self-reported delinquency has difficulty measuring rare events like serious crime, since the method relies on a sample of respondents rather than collecting data on the whole population of the country. If there are geographical, demographic, or temporal differences in the distribution of serious delinquency, the usual one-shot self-report samples may not be generalizable to the total population. The method relies on the cooperation of the respondent; the validity of confessions to strangers has been questioned. And the accuracy with which juveniles can recall their behaviors and classify them as legal or illegal is questionable.

Victimization Studies

If one cannot rely on the police or the offender to report offenses, perhaps the victim will do better. Or so goes the rationale for victimization studies, in which samples of respondents are asked whether they have been the victim of crime during a specified time period. With the exception of "victimless" crimes, these surveys promise to provide estimates of the prevalence, distribution, and correlates of crime.

Victimization surveys are a relatively recent development. The first surveys seem to have been the pilot surveys performed for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in 1965 and 1966. While there have been a few local victimization studies since that time, most victimization data derives from the President's Commission's 1967 survey, conducted by the National Opinion Research Center with a national probability sample of 10,000 households (2) and the National Crime Survey (NCS). The NCS includes the National Household Survey, (NHS), National Commercial Survey, City Household Survey, and the City Commercial Survey. It attempts to "produce general-purpose time series of criminal victimization, with wide ranges of descriptive characteristics. These series should display levels of events, trends, and relationships among relevant variables" (13, p. 9).

Of most interest here is the National Household Survey. Begun in July of 1972, the NHS consists of six samples of 10,000 households (i.e., addresses) each. Every month one of the samples is interviewed to determine whether anyone in the household was a victim of any of the Part I offenses (excluding homicide) during the previous six months; attempted crimes are included. Every six months one of the 10,000 household samples is replaced by a new sample. Reported are all cases of criminal victimization against the household or an individual age 12 or over within the household. See (13) for a full description of the NCS.

The NCS reported an estimate of almost 37 million victimizations of persons and institutions for Part I crimes in 1973 (17, p. 4). In the same year, approximately 8.7 Part I crimes were reported to the police, suggesting that victimization surveys indeed have the potential of exploring the "dark figure" of crime. Those data indicate that the proportion of personal and household victimizations that are not reported to the police ranges from 31 percent for auto theft to 76 percent of the personal thefts (13, p. 23).

The National Crime Surveys not only have the ability to uncover crimes not reported to the police, but they provide a great deal of data on characteristics of the victim, the offender, and the offense. Data included are the age, race, and sex of both the victim and (where possible) the offender; whether the offense was committed in a rural, suburban, or urban location; where the offense occurred (e.g., in the home, school, and so on); presence and type of weapon; relationships of the victim to the offender; and the consequences of the offense--i.e., personal injury and economic loss.

The avowed objectives of the NCS include measurement of the incidence of crime and changes in crime rates over time, provision of detailed information about crime, identification of high-risk subgroups and multiple victims, comparing different areas on victimization rates, investigating patterns of non-reporting to the police, estimation of the direct and indirect costs of crime, and several other items. While the degree to which those objectives have been reached can be disputed, the surveys were clearly implemented to meet some of the deficiencies of traditional crime statistics.

And victimization studies do have the potential of overcoming some of the problems in UCR data, the only national statistics on offenses and arrests, while avoiding some of the difficulties in self-report data. Victim surveys rely on the cooperation of the respondents, as do self-report studies, but the respondent is not asked to admit to committing a crime, so is more likely to be candid. While serious crime is a rare event, it is no doubt less rare to be a victim than an offender, which ameliorates the low base rate problem of self-report surveys. Unlike officially recorded delinquency, offenses that are reported in victim studies do not rely on the initiative of the victim in order to be reported; the interviewer asks the respondent whether he/she has been victimized rather than relying on the victim to contact the reporting system.

In addition, victim survey data are not dependent on the good will of the police department to get into the reporting system. The discretion of the police officer and police administration cannot interfere with the reporting of offenses. Since there is evidence that the police do not report to the FBI all of the offenses reported to them by citizens, that should remove one of the sources of information mortality.

Thus, victim surveys may seem to be the ideal solution to the problem of unreported crime. They use the testimony of people who, presumably, have no reason to conceal crime. They avoid processing of information by the police. Since the probability of being a victim is greater than that of being an offender, they partially avoid the low base rate problem. It is a proactive, not reactive, data collection system. It does not require contact with the police. And it is apparently economically feasible to conduct an ongoing victimization survey using a national probability sample.

But victim surveys are not without their problems. One researcher conducted a victim survey among people who had reported being victimized to the police during the previous month. Twenty percent of the offenses that had been reported to the police were not reported in the victim survey (14, p. 28). Others have found that the likelihood of reporting an event in a survey varies with the length of time between the event and the survey, the degree of threat or embarrassment felt by the respondent, the degree of institutional processing involved in the event, whether the event involved oneself or another person, and the number of such events that have occurred to the respondent (3, p. 12). "Perhaps the crucial matter is that underreporting is selective among classes of persons and events, and by time" (3, p. 12). To the extent to which that is true, victimization studies will give false estimates of the correlations between being a victim and the other variables.

In victim studies, and to some degree in self-report surveys, there is a problem with the time frame for which events are reported. If the purpose of a victim survey is to estimate the prevalence of crime, the respondents must report all offenses that occurred within a specified time period, and only those offenses. The phenomenon of "time telescoping," or moving events into the reference period seems to occur regularly in victim surveys, however.

Biderman reports that the use of a six month reference period would increase the number of offenses projected over a one year period by 25-30 percent over the estimate based on a 12 month reference period, and that if a three month reference period were used, increase by 60 percent (2, p. 22). This time telescoping phenomenon is seen also in a bulge in offenses reported as having occurred at the beginning of the reference period.

The mere fact that victimization studies like the National Crime Survey report many more offenses than show up in official statistics does not mean that there are not biases of similar magnitude in each. More victimizations are reported by people of higher SES than those from lower social classes, for example (2, p. 26). Many types of offenses are not included in the NCS, on six of the seven Part I offenses. Some offenses simply are not amenable to victim survey data collection; e.g., shoplifting. Some types of assault and personal theft are less likely to be reported than other offenses in victim surveys. Some NCS results defy explanation: the number of cases of aggravated assault reported to the NCS was negatively correlated with the number reported to the police in a sample of 26 cities (13, p. 135). "Serious victimizations," cases in which three or more similar events occurred for which the respondent cannot give discrete descriptions, are presently totally excluded from NCS data; their inclusion might increase the victimization rate for some offenses by more than 35 percent (13, pp. 77-78).

A problem in the use of victimization statistics in general is that they are not readily comparable with official crime statistics. The basic unit in official statistics is either the offense or the arrest. Victim surveys use the victimization event as the basic unit. The relationship between the victimization event and the arrest is clearly unknown, and the relationship with the offense is complex and variable.

It has even been suggested that there are factors operating that result in overreporting offenses in victim surveys (11). Respondents may classify noncrimes as crimes, or they move crimes into the reference period, as discussed above. They may fabricate to justify insurance claims or to obtain the sympathy of the interviewer. Respondents may develop role expectations for themselves as reporters of crime, leading to panel conditioning in an ongoing study like the NCS. Finally, the interviewers may feel under some pressure to turn up a quota of victimization events.

Victim surveys have their problems. But they do provide an avenue of access to the pool of crime not reported to the police and they have the capability of eliciting information about the offense that is not available by other means. Victimization studies will be discussed further in the next section where each of the three methods for measuring crime are discussed as they relate to the problem of assessing the magnitude and nature of serious juvenile crime.

Uniform Crime Reports as the Measure of Serious Juvenile Crime

Since 1930 the FBI has published, at least annually, the Uniform Crime Reports, which deal primarily with the seven index crimes. In order of decreasing seriousness these crimes are: murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny over $50, and motor vehicle theft.* Offenses known to the police and arrest data are reported for these offenses. Arrest data alone are also reported on other offenses.

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*The index crimes, then, are the Part I offenses, excluding negligent manslaughter and larceny under $50.

The seven index crimes are commonly referred to as the "serious" crimes, but that is not entirely accurate. Rather, those seven offenses were chosen as the index of major crimes on the basis of the likelihood that they will come to the attention of the police, their seriousness, and the frequency with which they occur. As one writer put it, they were selected for their "assumed administrative utility and presumed uniformity in collection of statistics" (21, p. 724). Offenses can be found that are not included in the index, but which many consider to be more serious than some index offenses: embezzlement, many simple assaults, drug offenses, and others.

There have been other criticisms of the index. Attempts are included in the count of offenses known to the police and arrests. White collar crimes are excluded. Motor vehicle theft includes joyriding. There is variation in seriousness within several of the offenses. And there is no attempt to weight the offenses in reference to their seriousness relative to one another. Finally, only the most serious offense is recorded in cases where several offenses occur. Given these problems, how useful is the crime index for addressing each of the four types of questions in this project?

What is the Magnitude of the Juvenile Crime Problem?

As discussed above, to address this question, the data must be able to do several things. First, it must be possible to distinguish serious from nonserious crimes. The UCR Crime Index can do that to the extent that those seven offenses are considered to be serious. That is, the index serves as an indicator of serious crime, not an enumeration of every serious crime that occurs. As was noted above, there are serious offenses excluded from the index, and some events that are included may be less than serious (e.g., attempted joyriding by a child in his parents' car). Nevertheless, the rationale for choosing those seven offenses seems reasonable if one is concerned with the reliability of the measure.

The data must also be able to distinguish minors from juveniles. The Uniform Crime Reports each year break down arrests for each offense by age. There has been some variation in the categories of age over time, but it has been possible to separate adults from juveniles for decades, possibly from the beginning.

The most difficult criterion for the data to meet is to be able to provide estimates of the actual number of offenses committed by juveniles during specific time periods for the country as a whole. Since those events are not counted directly, the proportion represented by UCR statistics on offenses known to the police is not known, and even less is known about the relationship between the number of arrests and the number of offenses that occur. Arrest data, of course, can distinguish minors from adults, while offense-known data cannot.

Estimates can be made, however. As mentioned earlier, if one assumes that juveniles are arrested in proportion to their criminal activity, the number of juveniles arrested for each index offense can be used to estimate the proportion of "offenses known" for which they are responsible. Then data from victimization studies can be used to estimate the actual number of each type of offense represented by those reported to the police. Several major assumptions are involved, obviously.

While UCR data can thus be used to make estimates of the number of crimes for which juveniles are responsible, the estimate can never be tested against the truth. However, if juvenile crime changes in volume or in rate, such estimates should be able to detect such changes. Changes in the estimates would also be useful for examining the correlates of crime. For those purposes, the validity of the absolute value of the estimate is not as important as its consistency from one year to the next. That consistency is something that UCR data can provide.

What are the Correlates of Serious Juvenile Crime?

This class of questions requires data about the offense, the offender, and the victim, as discussed above. Regarding the offense, UCR data can provide data of the geographical distribution of offenses, providing one assumes that each region is equally good in its reporting to the FBI. UCR statistics also provide breakdowns by whether the reporting jurisdiction is rural, suburban, or in any of several sizes of cities. Those data cannot indicate, however, anything about whether the offense was committed alone or in concert, what the motive was, or the method by which it was committed.

Regarding the offender, UCR reports the distribution of arrest by offense and age, offense and sex, and offense and race. It also shows arrests by offense, sex, and whether or not the offender was under eighteen, but in general the published data are not broken down by more than two variables simultaneously, preventing, for example, counts of the number of 15-year-old white females arrested for larceny. Nothing is reported about offense history, or the use of alcohol or drugs. Nor does the UCR report any data concerning the victims of juvenile crime.

What Changes Have Occurred Over Time in the Magnitude of the Problem?

As noted above, this question requires the same data as does the first question ("What is the magnitude..."), but also requires that those data be available in consistent form over some period of time. It is here that UCR data have their strength. The data collecting system has been operating for almost 50 years, with a great deal of consistency in definitions and procedures. Insofar as reporting police agencies and the FBI have done an adequate job of reporting consistent forms of data, the *rates* of arrests should be reliable over time. The shifting jurisdictions that report to the FBI may make some uncomfortable, but if changes in rates are the statistics of interest, that shifting is unimportant to a large degree. It should be noted that that shifting sample has covered at least 69 percent of the United States population for at least 15 years.

When analyzing Uniform Crime Reports arrest data over time, one must take into account the possible biasing effects of changes in the characteristics of agencies that report arrests to the system. While arrest data from 1964 to 1977 have come from agencies representing between 70 and 90 percent of the total United States population, it may be the case that the agencies that have been brought into the system during that time period differ from agencies already in the reporting system in terms of the demographic characteristics of their populations. The question here is not what accounts for changes in actual arrest rates, but whether those changes could be due to differences in who reports arrests to the FBI.

Changes in the population represented by UCR arrest data are important only if they are changes in characteristics that are correlated with the likelihood of arrest. For example, if the "represented population" (the population served by agencies reporting arrest data to the FBI) has become increasingly left-handed over time, one would not be concerned about any biasing influences on arrest data since the likelihood of arrest is probably unrelated to handedness. If, however, the proportion of blacks in the represented population has increased, one would question the extent to which changes in arrest rates have been due to (or masked by) this shift in the population represented in UCR data.

Unfortunately, one has virtually no data on the populations represented by UCR arrest data. One does not even know the extent to which the agencies reporting one year include the agencies that reported arrests the previous year. One does not know whether the represented population is increasingly black, female, older, or from broken homes. On the other hand, there is little _a priori_ reason to suspect that the represented population has changed on any of those dimensions differently from the total United States population except insofar as areas of different degrees of urbanization entered the UCR reporting system at different times. That is, it seems likely that less urban jurisdictions began reporting arrest data to the FBI later than did the cities, and that could be responsible for changes in the demographics of the represented population between 1964 and 1977. Since large cities, suburbs, and rural areas have quite different crime rates, changes in the proportions of each type of area in the represented population for arrest data could distort trends in rates of arrests. To speak to this issue, the change in urbanism of the represented population between 1964 and 1977 was examined. It was found that although there has been an increasing representation of the suburban population during these years, the comparison of arrest rates for 1964 through 1977 is not invalidated by that increase.

What Changes Have Occurred Over Time in the Correlates of Serious Juvenile Crime?

Again, what is needed to address this type of question are the data required for determining what are the correlates of crime, but must also provide those data over a period of time. While the Uniform Crime Reports series enjoys a long tenure, it cannot provide many of the things one wants to know to address this type of question. UCR data provides only information of the region, race, urbanity, and sex for juvenile arrest. While this will be sufficient to answer many questions about who and where, it cannot describe how often, why, with whom, or with what juvenile crimes are committed.

Self-Reported Delinquency as the Measure of Seriousness

The self-report method does, it is believed, solve some of the problems found in officially recorded statistics. The degree to which these solutions will help in assessing the nature of and trends in serious juvenile crime are discussed below.

What is the Magnitude of the Problem?

What can self-report studies indicate about how much juvenile crime is serious, how much is directed at property versus persons, the proportion of serious crime that is committed by juveniles, and how much occurs nationally?

Self-report studies, as has been shown, have a great deal of difficulty measuring serious crime at all. To repeat briefly, such studies usually use in-school samples, where serious delinquents are less likely to be found than other children. The low base rate of serious crimes has forced self-report instruments to rely mostly on minor offenses. And since delinquent youths generally have lower reading skills than other children, their responses suffer from a larger degree of unreliability.

Another problem with self-report studies is that they almost always use samples from one school or school district. To the extent that localities, even schools, differ in crime rates, the results of self-report studies will be misleading in making estimates of the problem nationwide. Two studies exist, however, which did use national samples.

One of these studies (2, p. 20) was part of the National Survey of Youth, in which samples of boys and girls ages 13 to 16 were selected from the 48 contiguous States in 1967 and 1972. The sample sizes were 847 and 661, respectively, and they can be considered representative of the United States population in that age range. They were asked about 17 offenses, and they could report up to three instances of each. The reference period was the three previous years. Interviewers decided whether each incident was a chargeable offense.

The boys reported an average of seven offenses each in both years, and the girls four. Some significant differences were found between the two years, generally indicating a decrease in delinquency. While the frequency distributions of the various offenses are not reported in the papers cited, it appears that most of the offenses admitted were truancy, property destruction, larceny, assault ("hurt or injured someone on purpose"), and trespassing. The published data do not permit the determination of the degree to which serious delinquency appeared in the samples, but the fact that only 9 percent of the 1967 sample had a police contact within the previous three years gives a clue to the amount of serious delinquency that was there to be uncovered.

The other self-report study using a representative sample of the whole country used a 26 item questionnaire (1, Chapter 9). The sample consisted of 2,213 tenth grade boys from 87 public high schools in 1966. Of the offenses that are clearly serious: 10 percent admitted having taken something worth more than $50; 9 percent admitted taking a car (other than the family car) without permission; 6 percent said they had stolen an expensive part of a car, suggesting that the auto thefts were mostly joyrides; and 6 percent admitted having used a weapon to extort. So Bachman did uncover some serious offenses in his study.

Unfortunately, Bachman's data cannot be used to estimate the amount of serious juvenile crime in the country as a whole, since his sample consisted only of tenth grade boys. It is known that delinquency varies by age and sex. Since his study has not been replicated, one cannot make any guesses about changes in delinquency over time either.

Bachman's study points out the limitations of self-reported delinquency for making estimates on a national scale. With a sample that is enormous by social science standards, he was able to find about 200 youngsters who admit to having stolen something worth more than $50 at least once (half of those admitted to only one such offense). Since his sample included only boys and only those in the most theft prone years, he found an incidence of 10 percent for one serious crime. The sample size that would be required to develop an estimate of the serious delinquency of boys and girls in a wide age range would be economically impossible to generate.

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If self-report studies are inadequate to the task of estimating the magnitude of the serious delinquency problem nationally, they certainly cannot provide much about how much juvenile crime is serious, or how much of the serious crime is committed by juveniles or is directed at persons or property. Nor can they provide information on the correlates of serious crime, changes over time in the magnitude of the problem, or changes in the correlates.

Even if there were large samples of youths, representing the entire youthful population of the United States, on whom self-report data were available, there would still be difficulties in estimating change from self-report data. The significant changes found by Gold and Reimer (7) between 1967 and 1972 may be due not to changes in delinquent behavior, but changes in the honesty and frankness in reporting. The social norms regarding the provision of information to others have changed a great deal over recent years. Privacy laws have restricted access to juvenile respondents, and parents and schools are becoming less willing to consent to the extraction of information from children. What all this means is that samples of self-report respondents are probably becoming more selective as time passes; it may now be impossible to draw a good probability sample of children in the United States and obtain access to them.

Victimization Surveys as the Measure of Serious Juvenile Crime

If self-report studies have little to offer in assessing the serious delinquency problem, perhaps victim studies can do better. It has been shown that a national victimization survey (National Crime Survey) began operation in 1972, indicating some continuity over time, using a very large probability sample. The four questions basic to this research are now described to see how this method of collecting crime data stands up.

What is the Magnitude of the Problem?

Again, to answer that type of question the data must be able to measure serious crime, distinguish between offenses, distinguish juvenile from adult offenders, and be capable of providing an estimate of the volume of serious juvenile crime for the country as a whole. The NCS, since it asks about only six Part I crimes, does measure what can be regarded as serious crime, and it can discriminate between offenses. Unfortunately, only in cases where the victim saw the offender can data be collected on the offender. In those cases, the NHS queries the victim about the number of perpetrators and the age, race, sex, and relation to the victim of the offender. Thus, it is generally only for contact crimes that victim surveys can distinguish adults from juveniles. Obviously, it will be only for those offenses that NCS data could be used to estimate the volume of juvenile crime nationally.

What are the Correlates of Serious Juvenile Crime?

Here again, victim studies have their strengths and weaknesses. Concerning data about the offense, the NCS does record where the offense occurred, how many offenders there were (in any one contact offense), and whether weapons were used and what types. The motive of the offender is not available.

Regarding the offender, only the number, age, race, and sex of the offender(s) are recorded, and those data are, of course, only for offenses in which the victim sees the offender. Clearly, the victim of an auto theft or burglary may never see the culprit. A great deal of information is collected about the victim, including the relationship with the offender (if known) and demographic characteristics.

Because the NCS uses probability samples, estimates can be made of the national values for the data it collects.

What Changes Have Occurred in the Magnitude of the Problem?

The National Crime Survey data can provide information over time about each variable on which it collects data since mid-1972.

What Changes Have Occurred in the Correlates of Serious Juvenile Crime?

Again, NCS data have been collected in essentially the same manner since the onset of the project.

Comparison of Official Statistics, Self-Reports, and Victim Surveys

The information below presents in summary form what each of the data collection methods can provide in answer to the four basic questions of the research. Each question will be listed, and the individual data requirement of the question specified. Then the three data collection techniques will be listed, with an indication for each one of whether it can meet that requirement.

What is the magnitude of the problem?

(1) The data must distinguish between serious and nonserious offenses.

--UCR: Yes
--Self-report: No
--Victimization: Yes

(2) The data must distinguish one offense from another.

--UCR: Yes
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization Yes

(3) The data must distinguish adult from juvenile offenders.

--UCR: Yes
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization: Sometimes

(4) The data must allow estimates of the national frequency of serious juvenile crime.
--UCR: Yes with major assumptions
--Self-report: No
--Victimization: Some offenses

What are the correlates of serious juvenile crime?

(1) The data must identify the geographical location of the offense.
--UCR: Yes
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization: Yes

(2) The data must specify whether the offense was committed by a lone perpetrator or a group.
--UCR: No
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization: Sometimes

(3) The data must specify the motive for the offense.
--UCR: No
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization: Sometimes

(4) The data must specify whether the offense occurred in an urban, suburban, or rural area.
--UCR: Yes
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization: Yes

(5) The data must specify whether weapons were used and what type.
--UCR: No
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization: Yes

(6) The data must provide a description of the offender.
--UCR: Yes, for arrestees
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization: Sometimes

(7) The data must include the offender's offense history.
--UCR: No
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization: No

(8) The data must tell us whether the offender was under the influence of alcohol or drugs.
--UCR: No
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization: No

(9) The data must tell us what the relationship was between the victim and the offender.
--UCR: No
--Self-report: Yes
--Victimization: Sometimes

(10) The data must provide a demographic description of the victim.
--UCR: No
--Self-report: No
--Victimization: Yes

(11) The data must allow the computation of nationwide estimates of the above variables.
--UCR: Yes
--Self-report: No
--Victimization: Yes

What changes have occurred over time in the magnitude of the problem?

(1) The data must have been collected in a consistent manner over time.

--UCR: Yes
--Self-report: No
--Victimization: Yes, in the case of NCS

What changes have occurred in the correlates of serious juvenile crime?

(1) The data must have been collected in a consistent manner over time.

--UCR: Yes
--Self-report: No
--Victimization: Yes, in the case of NCS

Discussion

When reviewing the above summary, the reader must keep in mind that what are described are the capabilities of the existing UCR system of official aggregate statistics on crime, but only the potential of the other two data collection methods. For example, the summary shows that all three methods can tell whether an offense occurred in an urban, suburban, or rural area; but in fact there are no existing self-report data that address that issue (as opposed to the urbanity of the respondent's school). Similarly, the summary shows that only the self-report methods can tell us the offenders offense history; in fact, no self-report study has ever published such data. Another caveat regarding the statements about self-reports in the summary: it seems that it is economically impossible to generate national self-report data using a generalizable sample, so whether the method can provide certain types of information may be irrelevant in a study concerned with national phenomena.

It is unquestionably the case that each method of data collection has its strengths in regards to the questions addressed in this research. The FBI's Uniform Crime Reports have the enormous advantage of longevity, and they are the only set of national criminal statistics at the arrest level. Self-report data provide us with entree to the "dark figure" of unreported delinquency. And victimization surveys promise to provide another measure of unreported crime on a national level. Unfortunately, each method is flawed as well.

Clearly, if one was to estimate how much serious juvenile crime occurs in the United States in a single year, one must work either from victimization data on the offenses in which the victim sees the offender, or one must use UCR data. Both methods have difficulties and involve assumptions about the generalizability of the data available. In the case of UCR, one must assume a specific relationship between the number of juveniles arrested for an offense and the number of juveniles committing that offense. With victimization data, one must assume that the incidents in which the victim sees the offender are typical of all instances of that offense.

What have been called here the "correlates" of crime include data about the offense, the offender, and the victim. In general, victimization data provides the most information on those specifics, and the National Crime Survey provides national data from very large samples. Both UCR and NCS provide data for a period of time, and the NCS has been in existence for only six years, while the Uniform Crime Reports have been published for almost 50 years.

As discussed earlier, the different data sources utilize different basic units of analysis. The victimization data use the victimization event as the unit and cannot always provide data on the number of offenders involved in a single event. UCR age specific data, on the other hand, rely on arrests; the arrestee in a given arrest is the unit of analysis. UCR data also include the number of offenses reported to the police, but juvenile crime cannot be distinguished from adult crime at that stage. While there may be theoretical reasons for preferring one unit over another, the choice of data collection methods will determine the unit of analysis, and the choice of data collection method will usually be determined by the availability of relevant data from that method.

This is not to imply that UCR data should be used simply because "that's all there is," as has usually been suggested. It is a better source of national estimates than self-report data, and it provides information not available in victimization surveys. While it is certainly risky to estimate the number of juvenile crimes from the number of juvenile arrests, the absolute value of the estimate may not be very important anyway. Skogan (16) and Booth, et al. (4) have examined the relation between victimization and UCR rates (for adults and juveniles combined) and found them to be moderately correlated: coefficients of around .40 to .90 were reported. They also found that correlations between other variables and these rates were fairly similar, although Booth's multivariate analysis indicates that there are important differences in the behavior of the two different types of rates. Insofar as the biases present in each method are stable over time, either can be used to make estimates of national rates and to compare the prevalence of crime over time. As long as there is doubt about whether they are measuring precisely the same thing, it would be wise to use both methods for analyzing the correlates of juvenile crime.

The mere size of the data set generated by UCR ameliorates the inaccuracies that go into it. While critics find examples of city crime rates quadrupling in one year, they never find that in the national statistics. The inertia created by the millions of arrest and offense reports that are entered each year prevent local changes from affecting the final outcome substantially. Furthermore, the Bureau's own editorial practices serve as a check on changes in local reporting and recording practices.

While there are questions that cannot be answered by UCR data (23, p. 24), they cannot be addressed satisfactorily by other existing data sets either. Thus, the UCR presents the currently best available source for national data and should be used to the extent possible. Of course, improvements can still be made in the UCR. Furthermore, other data collection techniques or sources can be used or developed as requirements and resources dictate.

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APPENDIX C

METHODOLOGY

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METHODOLOGY

I. Identification of Sources

Several methods of abstract and bibliography "searching" were used to identify possible sources of information relevant to the characteristics of serious juvenile crime and its perpetrators. These can be broadly classified as either "manual searches" or "automated searches," depending upon the means of scanning the citations. A number of "key words" were used as subject identifiers, including: juvenile, youth, crime, delinquency, violence, gangs, offenders, and arrests. The following resources were employed:

A. Manual Searches

- Criminology Index: Research and Theory in Criminology in the United States, 1945-1972
  Provides an index of references related to theoretical and empirical work in criminology, including articles, books, and reports.
- Sociological Abstracts
  Provides yearly compilations of articles relevant to the field of sociology.

B. Automated Searches

- Automated Information Retrieval Services (AIRS), University of California at Davis
  Computerized service offering searches of standard indexes and abstracts in a wide range of subject areas. Generally, these indexes or "data bases" are also available for manual searching. For the purposes of this report, the following data bases were considered: Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), Psychological Abstracts, Social

Scisearch, Dissertation Index, and Sociological Abstracts. But, after examining the results of a preliminary search of the Sociological Abstracts, as well as examining the capabilities of the other data bases, it was determined that this particular computer service was not suited to the needs of this assessment.

- National Criminal Justice Reference Service, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice
  Provides several services, including biweekly announcements of publications relevant to the criminal justice field, and "state-of-the-literature reviews" conducted by computer for specific subject areas.
- Social Research Group, George Washington University
  Also provides special computer searches of certain topics.
- National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Information Center Library
  Provides weekly announcements of publications received by the Library which are relevant to juvenile delinquency.

After having identified as many references as possible a number of criteria were used to determine the relevance of each citation to this topic. These criteria included:

- Must be written in English, and based upon data collected or published no earlier than 1968.
- Must be based upon a sample size of at least 500, and must be applicable to the national or State level (i.e., excludes small-scale, local studies).
- Must be relevant to juveniles, and have some indication of offense severity.
- Must be readily available to obtain (thereby excluding such items as unpublished dissertations).

Generally, if a publication did not fulfill the above requirements, it was discarded. Exceptions were made for certain major works which, for example, were published prior to 1968.

National Survey of Court and Correction Information

To supplement information obtained through manual and automated abstract searches, a survey of various criminal justice agencies in each State was conducted. The three main purposes of the survey were: (1) to assess the information capabilities of different components of the juvenile justice system, (2) to obtain data which is not commonly available or which is unpublished, and (3) to develop an understanding of serious juvenile crime and its perpetrators at the State level.

The survey instrument consisted of an introductory letter designed to present the purposes and goals of the data collection effort, accompanied by a questionnaire listing particular types of information needed. An attempt was made to contact a variety of information sources, including: automated information services, correctional departments, judicial/juvenile courts, law enforcement departments, State planning agencies, and youth service agencies. Specific names and addresses were obtained from several published directories of criminal justice agencies.

Table C-1, (p. 302) summarizes the number of surveys sent, number of respondents, and return rate, by component. It is emphasized that numerous reasons could account for a lack of response from agencies, including: incorrect mailing address of the agency, survey lost in mail, recipient not understanding request, and agency not collecting appropriate data.

TABLE C-1

NUMBER OF SURVEYS SENT, NUMBER OF REPONDENTS, AND RETURN RATE, BY COMPONENT

Component	Number Sent	Number Returned*	Percent Returned
Correctional Departments	24	8	33
Judicial/Juvenile Courts	9	3	33
Youth Services Agencies	23	7	30
Law Enforcement Departments	4	1	25
State Planning Agencies	49	12	24
Automated Information Services	6	1	17
Miscellaneous	3	0	0
TOTAL	114	31	27

(*This excludes a small number of surveys that were returned and indicated that no information was available.)

All information that was returned was categorized as describing either arrests, courts, or corrections. The arrest category consisted of data from 15 States and one city, courts consisted of nine States and two counties, and corrections included 23 States. Certain agencies that were contacted returned information for more than one of these categories, thereby providing, for example, arrest and court data for a single State.

An examination of all the State data revealed that much of the information was not comparable, particularly for the categories of courts and corrections. Common problems included: a lack of offense specifity or definition; lack of age categories or definition of terms such as "juvenile;" or inclusion of both criminal and status offenses in the broad category of "delinquency." These difficulties limited the use of State data, as discussed in Chapter IV, (pp. 183-184).

III. Computational Methods

Several statistical measures were used to describe the volume and nature of serious juvenile crime. The two major measures were median age and adjusted arrest rates. The logic for their use, and specific formulas, are as follows:

A. Median Age

Median age was chosen as a summary statistic, instead of mean or mode, in order to compensate for inexact data at the extremes of our age distribution (e.g., 10 years and under). This statistic provided a convenient summary of the age of persons arrested, referred to court, or committed for various serious offenses. The formula consists of:

$$\text{Score}_p = \text{LRL} + \frac{pN - \text{SFB}}{f} \times h$$

Where Score_p = score corresponding to the p^{th} percentile

LRL = lower real limit of critical interval

p = specified percentile

N = total number of cases

SFB = sum of frequencies below critical interval

f = frequency within interval

h = interval size.

To compute median age, sex, and race, frequencies were taken from annual volumes of Uniform Crime Reports, as well as from State data obtained through the national survey. Cumulative frequencies were then computed and the median formula was solved for "$p = .5$," or the score (specific age) corresponding to the fiftieth percentile.

B. Adjusted Arrest Rate

Arrest rates were computed for each age group for selected years. Rates were used instead of frequencies in order to examine trends over time which would not be biased by changes in the population composition. The following formula was employed:

$$\text{Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}}$$

After careful examination of annual Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), it was determined that the population covered in arrest statistics varied considerably during the time period 1964 to 1977. For example, in the 1977 edition of UCR, an estimated population of 198,401,000 was covered in the arrest frequency data for specific age (Table 32, p. 344). Based on 1977 census data, it was found that this corresponded to 92 percent of the total United States population. Similar percentages ranged from 69 percent in 1964 to 84 percent in 1975. In order to compensate for this discrepancy, an "adjustment factor" was computed for each year, by age, sex, and race.*

$$f = \frac{\text{Total United States Population}}{\text{Population represented in arrest reports}^{**}}$$

Where f = adjustment factor

The resulting figures are presented in Table C-2.

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*It was necessary to compute separate "factors" for age, sex, and race, since the number of jurisdictions reporting to UCR varies for these three characteristics.

**Number of jurisdictions reporting and estimated population figures are given at the top of each arrest frequency table in Uniform Crime Reports.

TABLE C-2

ADJUSTMENT FACTORS

Year	Age	Sex	Race
1977	1.09	1.15	1.10
1976	1.22	1.32	1.23
1975	1.19	1.47	1.25
1974	1.59	1.85	1.69
1973	1.35	1.41	1.45
1972	1.30	1.47	1.40
1971	1.33	1.47	1.40
1970	1.35	1.49	1.43
1969	1.41	1.56	1.52
1968	1.37	1.45	1.47
1967	1.35	1.52	1.47
1966	1.41	1.61	1.52
1965	1.45	1.69	1.54
1964	1.45	1.72	1.61

"Adjusted rates" were then determined in the following manner:

Adjusted Arrest Rate = Arrest Rate X f

IV. Official, National Level Data Sources

This report was restricted by a lack of national data sources. Ideally, the nature and volume of serious juvenile crime should be described using information drawn from arrests, courts, and corrections. But, national court data (*Juvenile Court Statistics*) does not provide any distinctions based on the severity of offenses, and national corrections data (*Children in Custody* and *National Prisoner Statistics*) lack both age and offense breakdowns which would be appropriate for our use. It was necessary, therefore, to restrict the discussion in the assessment to arrest statistics in the form of Uniform Crime Reports as a national indicator of serious juvenile crime.

APPENDIX D

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Terminology used in this report is drawn from three main sources: Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, Dictionary of Criminal Justice Data Terminology: First Edition, 1976 and Uniform Crime Reports, 1977. Certain age and offense classifications were specifically defined for the present report and are as follows:

I. Age Classifications

- Juvenile - a person from ages 7 through 17
- Adult - a person over 18

II. Offense Classifications

- Total Offenses - includes all offenses reported in Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), except "curfew and loitering law violations" and "runaways."
    - Index Offenses: includes seven UCR Index Crimes (i.e., criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft).

      Violent Offenses: criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault.

      Serious Property Offenses: burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft.
    - Non-Index Offenses: all "Total Offenses" which are not included within "Serious" category. Includes negligent manslaughter.

III. Specific Offenses

- Arson: willful or malicious burning with or without intent to defraud. Includes attempts. (UCR, 1977) p. 304
- Aggravated Assault: assault with intent to kill or for the purpose of inflicting severe bodily injury by shooting, cutting, stabbing, maiming, poisoning, scalding, or by the use of acids, explosives, or other means. Excludes simple assaults. (UCR) p. 304

- Burglary-Breaking or Entering: housebreaking or any breaking or unlawful entry of a structure with the intent to commit a felony or a theft. Includes attempted forcible entry. (UCR) p. 304

- Criminal Homicide: murder and non-negligent manslaughter - all willful felonious homicides as distinguished from deaths caused by negligence. (UCR) p. 304
  The present report uses murder synonymously with criminal homicide.

- Criminal Offenses: act committed or omitted in violation of a law for which an adult can be punished. (Dictionary) p. 34

- Forcible Rape: the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will in the categories of rape by force and attempts or assaults to rape. Excludes statutory offenses. (UCR) p. 304

- Larceny-Theft (except motor vehicle theft): the unlawful taking, carrying, leading, or riding away of property from the possession of another. Thefts of bicycles, automobile accessories, shoplifting, pocket-picking, or any stealing of property or article which is not taken by force and violence or by fraud. (UCR) p. 304

- Motor Vehicle Theft: unlawful taking or attempted theft of a motor vehicle. Synonomous with auto theft. (UCR) p. 304

- Negligent Manslaughter: causing the death of another by recklessness or gross negligence. (Dictionary) p. 62

- Non-Negligent Manslaughter: intentionally causing the death of another with reasonable provocation.

- Robbery: stealing or taking anything of value from the care, custody, or control of a person by force or by violence or by putting in fear, such as strong-arm robbery, stickups, armed robbery, attempts or assaults to rob. (UCR) p. 304

- Status Offense: act which is declared by statute to be an offense, but only when committed by a juvenile. (Dictionary) p. 2

IV. Miscellaneous

- Adjudicated: having been the subject of completed criminal or juvenile proceedings, and convicted, or adjudicated a delinquent, status offender or dependent. (Dictionary) p. 11

- Characteristic: (1) distinguishing trait, quality or property which, for the purposes of this report, is commonly available in existing information sources (e.g., age, sex, race). (2) variables which would hypothetically correlate with serious juvenile crime (e.g., socioeconomic status, educational and family background). (Webster) p. 187

- Delinquent: juvenile who has been adjudicated as having committed a delinquent act, which is an act for which an adult could be prosecuted in a criminal court. (Dictionary) p. 40

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APPENDIX E

TABLES OF FREQUENCIES RELEVANT TO JUVENILE ARRESTS, PETITIONS, AND COMMITMENTS

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TABLE E-1

NATIONAL POPULATION: AGES 11-17 (1964-77)
(Corresponds to Figure II-4, p. 82)

YEAR	POPULATION (in thousands)
1964	25,338
1965	25,501
1966	26,026
1967	26,579
1968	27,296
1969	27,880
1970	28,386
1971	28,740
1972	29,049
1973	29,203
1974	29,253
1975	29,105
1976	28,779
1977	28,221

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

TABLE E-2

NATIONAL ARREST FREQUENCIES FOR INDEX OFFENSES: AGES 11-17 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-5, p.82)

YEAR	ARREST FREQUENCIES (in thousands)
1964	352
1965	377
1966	398
1967	453
1968	477
1969	498
1970	554
1971	599
1972	597
1973	583
1974	633
1975	783
1976	710
1977	785

Sources: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States* - *1964* (98, p. 108); *1965* (99, p. 112); *1966* (100, p. 114); *1967* (101, p. 121); *1968* (102, p. 115); *1969* (103, p. 113); *1970* (104, p. 126); *1971* (105, p. 122); *1972* (106, p. 126); *1973* (107, p. 128); *1974* (108, p. 186); *1975* (109, p. 188); *1976* (110, p. 181); and *1977* (111, p. 180).

TABLE E-3

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR INDEX AND NON-INDEX OFFENSES: AGES 11-17 (1964-1977)

(Corresponds to Figure II-6, p. 84)

YEAR	OFFENSES (per 100,000)	
	INDEX	NON-INDEX
1964	2,012	2,389
1965	2,143	3,564
1966	2,157	3,656
1967	2,303	2,986
1968	2,394	3,304
1969	2,518	3,395
1970	2,681	3,572
1971	2,818	3,774
1972	2,672	3,617
1973	2,694	3,566
1974	3,441	4,121
1975	3,202	3,764
1976	3,011	3,981
1977	3,030	4,022

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 108); 1965 (99, p. 112); 1966 (100, p. 114); 1967 (101, p. 121); 1968 (102, p. 115); 1969 (103, p. 113); 1970 (104, p. 126); 1971 (105, p. 122); 1972 (106, p. 126); 1973 (107, p. 128); 1974 (108, p. 186); 1975 (109, p. 188); 1976 (110, p. 181); and 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-4

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR INDEX VIOLENT AND PROPERTY OFFENSES: AGES 11-17 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-7, p. 85)

YEAR	OFFENSES (per 100,000)	
	VIOLENT	PROPERTY
1964	138	1,874
1965	162	1,981
1966	176	1,981
1967	199	2,104
1968	213	2,181
1969	237	2,281
1970	253	2,381
1971	281	2,490
1972	294	2,379
1973	297	2,397
1974	353	3,086
1975	342	2,860
1976	310	2,701
1977	308	2,722

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 108); 1965 (99, p. 112); 1966 (100, p. 114); 1967 (101, p. 121); 1968 (102, p. 115); 1969 (103, p. 113); 1970 (104, p. 126); 1971 (105, p. 122); 1972 (106, p. 126); 1973 (107, p. 128); 1974 (108, p. 186); 1975 (109, p. 188); 1976 (110, p. 181); and 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-5

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR INDIVIDUAL VIOLENT OFFENSES: AGE 11-17 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-8, p. 86)

YEAR	OFFENSES (per 100,000)			
	MURDER	RAPE	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	ROBBERY
1964	3	10	65	59
1965	3	13	71	75
1966	4	11	85	76
1967	4	12	90	93
1968	5	13	85	112
1969	6	14	90	126
1970	7	15	96	136
1971	7	16	110	149
1972	7	17	118	152
1973	7	18	118	155
1974	8	19	138	189
1975	6	16	142	179
1976	6	16	134	155
1977	6	16	136	150

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States* - 1964 (98, p. 108); 1965 (99, p. 112); 1966 (100, p. 114); 1967 (101, p. 121); 1968 (102, p. 115); 1969 (103, p. 113); 1970 (104, p. 126); 1971 (105, p. 122); 1972 (106, p. 126); 1973 (107, p. 128); 1974 (108, p. 186); 1975 (109, p. 188); 1976 (110, p. 181); and 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports* (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-6

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR ROBBERY AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT: AGES 11-17 (1964. 1970, 1975, AND 1977)

(Corresponds to Table II-3, p. 87)

YEAR	OFFENSES (per 100,000)	
	ROBBERY	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT
1964	59	65
1970	136	96
1975	179	142
1977	150	136

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964* (98, p. 108); *1970* (104, p. 126); *1975* (109, p. 188); and *1977* (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports* (1964: 90 , p. 35); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1975: 91, p. 11); and (1977: 92 , p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1970=1.35; 1975=1.19; and 1977= 1.09.

TABLE E-7

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR INDIVIDUAL INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES: AGES 11-17 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-9, p. 88)

YEAR	OFFENSES (per 100,000)		
	BURGLARY	LARCENY-THEFT	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
1964	506	1,011	357
1965	532	1,089	360
1966	529	1,094	357
1967	599	1,136	369
1968	652	1,149	379
1969	650	1,265	367
1970	664	1,381	338
1971	698	1,472	319
1972	677	1,412	290
1973	744	1,347	307
1974	940	1,829	320
1975	926	1,668	267
1976	852	1,603	245
1977	867	1,580	275

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 108); 1965 (99, p. 112); 1966 (100, p. 114); 1967 (101, p. 121); 1968 (102, p. 115); 1969 (103, p. 113); 1970 (104, p. 126); 1971 (105, p. 122); 1972 (106, p. 126); 1973 (107, p. 128); 1974 (108, p. 186); 1975 (109, p. 188); 1976 (110, p. 181); and 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-8

NATIONAL ARREST FREQUENCIES FOR INDEX AND NON-INDEX OFFENSES: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure II-10, p. 92)

OFFENSE	AGE		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
Index	784,556	352,041	799,409
Non-Index	1,041,573	1,115,035	4,495,203

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977* (111, pp. 180-181).

TABLE E-9

NATIONAL ARREST FREQUENCIES FOR VIOLENT AND PROPERTY OFFENSES: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure II-11, p.92)

OFFENSE	AGE 11-17	AGE 18-20	AGE 21-64
Violent	79,736	67,831	234,755
Property	704,820	284,210	564,654

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977* (111, pp. 180-181).

TABLE E-10

NATIONAL POPULATION AND ARREST FREQUENCIES FOR INDIVIDUAL INDEX OFFENSES: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure II-12, p. 93)

OFFENSE	AGE			
	11-17	18-20	21-64	TOTAL (11-64)
Motor Vehicle Theft	71,193	24,993	38,414	134,600
Burglary	224,535	89,992	129,859	444,386
Larceny-Theft	409,092	169,225	396,381	974,698
Robbery	38,756	27,973	55,089	121,818
Rape	4,204	4,686	16,756	25,646
Aggravated Assault	35,120	32,663	150,206	217,989
Murder	1,656	2,509	12,704	16,869
Population (in thousands)	28,221	12,769	115,826	156,816

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1977: 92, p. 17).

TABLE E-11

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR INDEX OFFENSES COMBINED: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-13, p. 94)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
1964	2,012	1,922	439
1965	2,143	1,876	455
1966	2,157	1,810	446
1967	2,303	1,958	479
1968	2,394	2,202	496
1969	2,518	2,412	546
1970	2,635	2,681	604
1971	2,771	2,818	653
1972	2,672	2,648	657
1973	2,694	2,632	643
1974	3,441	3,434	776
1975	3,202	3,348	764
1976	3,011	3,250	759
1977	3,030	3,005	752

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, pp. 108-109); 1965 (99, pp. 112-113); 1966 (100, pp. 114-115); 1967 (101, pp. 121-122); 1968 (102, pp. 115-116); 1969 (103, pp. 113-114); 1970 (104, pp. 126-127); 1971 (105, pp. 122-123); 1972 (106, pp. 126-127); 1973 (107, pp. 128-129); 1974 (108, pp. 186-187); 1975 (109, pp. 188-189); 1976 (110, pp. 181-182); and 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-12

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES COMBINED: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-14, p. 95)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
1964	1,874	1,591	302
1965	1,981	1,536	310
1966	1,981	1,455	293
1967	2,104	1,566	318
1968	2,181	1,748	326
1969	2,281	1,912	367
1970	2,381	2,156	416
1971	2,490	2,262	448
1972	2,379	2,213	569
1773	2,397	2,074	427
1974	3,086	2,733	528
1975	2,860	2,705	536
1976	2,701	2,651	541
1977	2,722	2,426	531

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, pp. 108-109); 1965 (99, pp. 112-113); 1966 (100, pp. 114-115); 1967 (101, pp. 121-122); 1968 (102, pp. 115-116); 1969 (103, pp. 113-114); 1970 (104, pp. 126-127); 1971 (105, pp. 122-123); 1972 (106, pp. 126-127); 1973 (107, pp. 128-129); 1974 (108, pp. 186-187); 1975 (109, pp. 188-189); 1976 (110, pp. 181-182); and 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-13

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR VIOLENT OFFENSES COMBINED: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-15, p. 96)

YEAR	AGE/RATE (per 100,000)		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
1964	138	332	138
1965	162	341	145
1966	176	354	152
1967	199	392	159
1968	213	454	162
1969	237	500	179
1970	253	527	188
1971	281	556	205
1972	294	593	218
1973	297	559	216
1974	353	701	250
1975	342	643	229
1976	310	599	216
1977	308	579	221

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, pp. 108-109); 1965 (99, pp. 112-113); 1966 (100, pp. 114-115); 1967 (101, pp. 121-122); 1968 (102, pp. 115-116); 1969 (103, pp. 113-114); 1970 (104, pp. 126-127); 1971 (105, pp. 122-123); 1972 (106, pp. 126-127); 1973 (107, pp. 128-129); 1974 (108, pp. 186-187); 1975 (109, pp. 188-189); 1976 (110, pp. 181-182); and 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-14

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR MURDER: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-16, p. 97)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
1964	3	11	8
1965	3	13	9
1966	4	14	9
1967	4	15	10
1968	5	19	11
1969	6	23	11
1970	7	23	12
1971	7	24	13
1972	7	25	13
1973	7	24	14
1974	8	29	14
1975	6	25	13
1976	6	21	12
1977	6	21	12

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, pp. 108-109); 1965 (99, pp. 112-113); 1966 (100, pp. 114-115); 1967 (101, pp. 121-122); 1968 (102, pp. 115-116); 1969 (103, pp. 113-114); 1970 (104, pp. 126-127); 1971 (105, pp. 122-123); 1972 (106, pp. 126-127); 1973 (107, pp. 128-129); 1974 (108, pp. 186-187); 1975 (109, pp. 188-189); 1976 (110, pp. 181-182); and 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-15

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR RAPE: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-17 p. 98)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
1964	10	35	9
1965	13	38	9
1966	11	37	10
1967	12	37	10
1968	13	38	10
1969	14	42	11
1970	15	42	12
1971	16	41	12
1972	17	47	14
1973	18	42	15
1974	19	46	16
1975	16	41	14
1976	16	40	15
1977	16	40	16

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, pp. 108-109); 1965 (99, pp. 112-113); 1966 (100, pp. 114-115); 1967 (101, pp. 121-122); 1968 (102, pp. 115-116); 1969 (103, pp. 113-114); 1970 (104, pp. 126-127); 1971 (105, pp. 122-123); 1972 (106, pp. 126-127); 1973 (107, pp. 128-129); 1974 (108, pp. 186-187); 1975 (109, pp. 188-189); 1976 (110, pp. 181-182); and 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-16

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR ROBBERY: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-18, p. 99)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
1964	59	138	31
1965	75	139	35
1966	76	141	32
1967	93	172	38
1968	112	211	42
1969	126	233	47
1970	136	253	50
1971	149	277	57
1972	152	286	61
1973	155	254	55
1974	189	337	68
1975	179	292	58
1976	155	254	51
1977	150	239	52

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, pp. 108-109); 1965 (99, pp. 112-113); 1966 (100, pp. 114-115); 1967 (101, pp. 121-122); 1968 (102, pp. 115-116); 1969 (103, pp. 113-114); 1970 (104, pp. 126-127); 1971 (105, pp. 122-123); 1972 (106, pp. 126-127); 1973 (107, pp. 128-129); 1974 (108, pp. 186-187); 1975 (109, pp. 188-189); 1976 (110, pp. 181-182); and 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-17

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR AGGRAVATED ASSAULT: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-19, p.100)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
1964	65	148	90
1965	71	151	91
1966	85	164	100
1967	90	169	103
1968	85	186	100
1969	90	203	110
1970	96	209	113
1971	110	214	122
1972	118	235	131
1973	118	239	132
1974	138	291	151
1975	142	286	143
1976	134	283	139
1977	136	279	141

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \text{ x Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, pp. 108-109); 1965 (99, pp. 112-113); 1966 (100, pp. 114-115); 1967 (101, pp. 121-122); 1968 (102, pp. 115-116); 1969 (103, pp. 113-114); 1970 (104, pp. 126-127); 1971 (105, pp. 122-123); 1972 (106, pp. 126-127); 1973 (107, pp. 128-129); 1974 (108, pp. 186-187); 1975 (109, pp. 188-189); 1976 (110, pp. 181-182); and 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-18

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR BURGLARY: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-20, p.102)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
1964	506	531	93
1965	532	503	94
1966	529	465	87
1967	599	524	96
1968	652	583	98
1969	650	595	102
1970	664	652	111
1971	698	704	120
1972	677	699	116
1973	744	648	111
1974	940	865	134
1975	926	860	131
1976	852	816	124
1977	867	768	122

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, pp. 108-109); 1965 (99, pp. 112-113); 1966 (100, pp. 114-115); 1967 (101, pp. 121-122); 1968 (102, pp. 115-116); 1969 (103, pp. 113-114); 1970 (104, pp. 126-127); 1971 (105, pp. 122-123); 1972 (106, pp. 126-127); 1973 (107, pp. 128-129); 1974 (108, pp. 186-187); 1975 (109, pp. 188-189); 1976 (110, pp. 181-182); and 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-19

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR LARCENY-THEFT: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-21, p. 103)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
1964	1,011	790	180
1965	1,089	761	184
1966	1,094	726	176
1967	1,136	772	189
1968	1,149	862	192
1969	1,265	1,003	223
1970	1,381	1,206	265
1971	1,472	1,270	280
1972	1,412	1,254	280
1973	1,347	1,187	278
1974	1,829	1,606	353
1975	1,668	1,630	370
1976	1,603	1,623	384
1977	1,580	1,445	373

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, pp. 108-109); 1965 (99, pp. 112-113); 1966 (100, pp. 114-115); 1967 (101, pp. 121-122); 1968 (102, pp. 115-116); 1969 (103, pp. 113-114); 1970 (104, pp. 126-127); 1971 (105, pp. 122-123); 1972 (106, pp. 126-127); 1973 (107, pp. 128-129); 1974 (108, pp. 186-187); 1975 (109, pp. 188-189); 1976 (110, pp. 181-182); and 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-20

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT: AGES 11-17, 18-20, AND 21-64 (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure II-22, p. 104)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)		
	11-17	18-20	21-64
1964	357	269	29
1965	360	271	32
1966	357	265	31
1967	369	270	32
1968	379	303	36
1969	367	314	41
1970	338	297	42
1971	319	287	47
1972	290	260	42
1973	307	239	38
1974	320	262	40
1975	267	213	35
1976	245	211	34
1977	275	213	36

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, pp. 108-109); 1965 (99, pp. 112-113); 1966 (100, pp. 114-115); 1967 (101, pp. 121-122); 1968 (102, pp. 115-116); 1969 (103, pp. 113-114); 1970 (104, pp. 126-127); 1971 (105, pp. 122-123); 1972 (106, pp. 126-127); 1973 (107, pp. 128-129); 1974 (108, pp. 186-187); 1975 (109, pp. 188-189); 1976 (110, pp. 181-182); and 1977 (111, pp. 180-181).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 91, p. 12); (1975: 91, p. 11); (1976: 91, p. 10); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-21

NATIONAL ARREST FREQUENCIES FOR INDEX AND NON-INDEX OFFENSES BY AGE (1977)
(Corresponds to Figure IV-1, p. 150)

AGE	OFFENSE	
	INDEX	NON-INDEX
Total (ages under 18)	818,667	1,080,066
10 and under	34,111	38,493
11 - 12	75,007	65,392
13 - 14	207,340	206,625
15	158,410	193,655
16	178,960	260,377
17	164,839	315,524

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977 (111, p. 180).

TABLE E-22

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR INDEX AND NON-INDEX OFFENSES BY AGE (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-2, p. 151)

AGE	OFFENSES (per 100,000)	
	INDEX	NON-INDEX
10 and under	103	116
11-12	1,102	961
13-14	2,772	2,762
15	4,109	5,023
16	4,597	6,689
17	4,286	8,204

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factor: 1977-1.09.

TABLE E-23

NATIONAL ARREST FREQUENCIES FOR VIOLENT AND INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES BY AGE (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-3, p. 152)

AGE	OFFENSE	
	VIOLENT	INDEX PROPERTY
10 and under	1,632	32,479
11 - 12	4,460	70,547
13 - 14	15,905	191,435
15	15,033	143,377
16	21,060	157,900
17	23,278	141,561

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977* (111, p. 180).

TABLE E-24

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR VIOLENT AND INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES BY AGE (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-4, p. 153)

AGE	OFFENSES (per 100,000)	
	VIOLENT	INDEX PROPERTY
10 and under	5	98
11 - 12	66	1,037
13 - 14	213	2,559
15	390	3,719
16	541	4,056
17	605	3,681

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factor: 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-25

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR THE FOUR VIOLENT OFFENSES BY AGE (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-5, p. 154)

AGE	OFFENSES (per 100,000)			
	MURDER	RAPE	ROBBERY	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT
10 and under	**	**	2	3
11 - 12	**	3	29	33
13 - 14	2	11	104	94
15	7	19	197	167
16	13	29	264	235
17	18	33	289	266

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-334):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

**Less than 0.5

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factor: 1977=1.09

TABLE E-26

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR THE THREE INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES BY AGE (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-6, p. 155)

AGE	OFFENSES (per 100,000)		
	BURGLARY	LARCENY-THEFT	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
10 and under	28	69	1
11 - 12	285	720	32
13 - 14	787	1,557	216
15	1,222	2,030	468
16	1,348	2,211	497
17	1,214	2,063	404

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factor: 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-27

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR THE CRIMES OF ARSON AND NEGLIGENT MANSLAUGHTER BY AGE (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-7, p. 156)

AGE	OFFENSES (per 100,000)	
	ARSON	NEGLIGENT MANSLAUGHTER
10 and under	5	**
11 - 12	20	**
13 - 14	30	**
15	32	1
16	27	3
17	23	4

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

**Less than 0.5

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factor: 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-28

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR COMBINED INDEX OFFENSES BY AGE (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-8, p. 158)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)					
	10 AND UNDER	11 - 12	13 - 14	15	16	17
1964	84	806	2,079	3,001	3,115	2,353
1968	108	1,032	2,445	3,412	3,550	3,090
1972	107	1,083	2,669	3,854	3,906	3,610
1973	106	1,033	2,633	3,765	4,118	3,700
1974	130	1,296	3,317	4,878	5,151	4,691
1975	114	1,155	2,942	4,470	4,955	4,548
1976	105	1,116	2,746	4,184	4,765	4,300
1977	103	1,102	2,771	4,109	4,597	4,286

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 108); 1968 (102, p. 115); 1972 (106, p. 126); 1973 (107, p. 128); 1974 (108, p. 186); 1975 (109, p. 188); 1976 (110, p. 181); and 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 86, p. 53); (1973: 87, p. 57); (1974: 92, p. 18); (1975: 88, p. 51); (1976: 89, p. 50); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1968=1.37; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09

TABLE E-29

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR COMBINED VIOLENT OFFENSES BY AGE (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-9, p. 159)

YEAR	AGE/RATE (per 100,000)					
	10 AND UNDER	11 - 12	13 - 14	15	16	17
1964	2	34	111	194	253	243
1968	4	61	170	281	367	426
1972	6	75	234	400	503	563
1973	5	72	229	393	519	566
1974	6	75	256	476	632	688
1975	6	72	245	471	606	651
1976	5	68	221	418	562	593
1977	5	66	213	390	541	605

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 108); 1968 (102, p. 115); 1972 (106, p. 126); 1973 (107, p. 128); 1974 (108, p. 186); 1975 (109, p. 188); 1976 (110, p. 181); and 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 86, p. 53); (1973: 87, p. 57); (1974: 92, p. 18); (1975: 88, p. 51); (1976: 89, p. 50); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1968=1.37; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09

TABLE E-30

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR COMBINED INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES BY AGE (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-10, p.160)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)					
	10 AND UNDER	11 - 12	13 - 14	15	16	17
1964	82	772	1,968	2,808	2,863	2,110
1968	103	971	2,275	3,131	3,182	2,664
1972	101	1,008	2,435	3,453	3,402	3,047
1973	101	961	2,404	3,369	3,599	3,059
1974	124	1,221	3,061	4,402	4,520	4,003
1975	107	1,084	2,695	4,000	4,349	3,897
1976	100	1,045	2,525	3,767	4,202	3,707
1977	98	1,037	2,559	3,719	4,056	3,681

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 108); 1968 (102, p. 115); 1972 (106, p. 126); 1973 (107, p. 128); 1974 (108, p. 186); 1975 (109, p. 188); 1976 (110, p. 181); and 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 86, p. 53); (1973: 87, p. 57); (1974: 92, p. 18); (1975: 88, p. 51); (1976: 89, p. 50); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1968=1.37; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09

TABLE E-31

ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES* FOR INDIVIDUAL INDEX OFFENSES (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

		YEAR/RATE (per 100,000)							
OFFENSE	AGE	1964	1968	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
MURDER	10 and under	**	.1	**	**	**	.1	**	**
	11 - 12	.3	.4	.5	.5	.6	.4	.5	.3
	13 - 14	1.5	2.2	2.7	2.8	3.2	2.0	2.4	2.4
	15	4.4	5.8	8.7	9.0	9.8	8.2	6.0	6.6
	16	6.7	10.9	14.0	14.0	15.0	13.9	12.2	13.4
	17	7.3	15.0	22.6	19.4	20.6	17.6	14.6	17.5
RAPE	10 and under	**	.1	.1	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2
	11 - 12	1.1	1.3	1.7	2.1	2.2	1.8	2.4	2.6
	13 - 14	5.8	6.9	10.8	10.3	11.8	10.1	11.0	11.3
	15	14.2	16.7	22.6	22.5	23.2	21.7	19.5	19.4
	16	21.3	26.3	34.3	33.8	33.9	27.2	29.0	29.4
	17	21.9	33.3	39.8	41.4	45.1	36.8	33.1	33.4
ROBBERY	10 and under	1.0	2.1	2.7	2.4	2.4	2.3	1.8	1.5
	11 - 12	16.2	34.8	40.3	39.6	39.3	36.9	31.7	29.3
	13 - 14	52.3	95.4	126.0	127.1	139.2	133.9	112.1	104.4
	15	82.5	144.7	209.0	223.1	262.7	253.0	216.0	197.1
	16	106.0	180.8	252.0	257.4	336.3	311.8	282.1	263.5
	17	98.4	213.7	285.0	289.4	357.8	347.4	285.3	288.5
AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	10 and under	1.3	2.2	3.1	2.9	3.4	3.2	3.2	3.2
	11 - 12	15.9	25.2	33.8	30.5	32.8	34.2	34.2	33.2
	13 - 14	50.7	65.5	94.9	88.6	102.3	104.7	95.1	94.4
	15	92.4	114.1	160.0	155.0	180.0	190.5	177.6	166.8
	16	118.6	149.3	203.0	208.6	246.8	242.8	239.1	234.6
	17	115.1	164.3	214.5	232.0	265.8	278.1	260.3	266.0
BURGLARY	10 and under	25.0	32.7	29.5	32.6	37.0	31.4	28.0	28.3
	11 - 12	223.3	294.1	263.9	288.4	335.5	310.2	285.7	284.9
	13 - 14	535.0	683.4	663.0	741.0	901.6	855.1	767.4	786.9
	15	726.9	933.4	976.0	1100.1	1345.7	1352.3	1239.4	1221.8
	16	748.3	928.8	1018.0	1100.6	1443.4	1439.9	1372.1	1348.4
	17	591.0	811.3	935.0	989.8	1274.0	1365.6	1212.3	1214.0
LARCENY-THEFT	10 and under	55.7	69.3	70.0	66.3	85.3	77.1	70.7	68.6
	11 - 12	525.0	637.5	711.0	650.5	850.8	764.4	733.9	720.1
	13 - 14	1147.0	1284.3	1548.0	1415.5	1904.8	1681.0	1571.8	1556.7
	15	1365.0	1492.9	1958.0	1801.3	2485.0	2193.8	2101.4	2029.8
	16	1327.7	1504.2	1823.1	1875.4	2465.6	2347.5	2359.5	2210.7
	17	1056.0	1274.1	1656.3	1698.0	2270.3	2281.9	2124.5	2062.7
MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	10 and under	1.0	1.4	1.3	1.6	1.7	1.3	1.2	1.4
	11 - 12	26.8	39.0	32.5	34.3	34.4	31.0	26.8	31.6
	13 - 14	286.0	307.4	223.6	243.8	254.2	212.4	187.9	215.5
	15	715.8	704.6	519.2	572.9	571.0	470.0	427.3	467.7
	16	741.5	747.7	563.4	585.5	610.4	485.5	471.9	497.0
	17	462.7	578.5	458.1	453.4	458.4	417.7	371.2	404.1

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

**Less than 0.1

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 108); 1968 (102, p. 115); 1972 (106, p. 126); 1973 (107, p. 128); 1974 (108, p. 186); 1975 (109, p. 188); 1976 (110, p. 181); and 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 86, p. 53); (1973: 87, p. 57); (1974: 92, p. 18); (1975: 88, p. 51); (1976: 89, p. 50); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1968=1.37; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-32

ADJUSTED NATIONAL ARREST RATES* FOR LARCENY-THEFT BY AGE (1972 AND 1977)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-11, p. 161)

YEAR	AGE / RATE (per 100,000)					
	10 AND UNDER	11 - 12	13 - 14	15	16	17
1972	70	711	1,548	1,958	1,823	1,656
1977	69	720	1,557	2,030	2,211	2,063

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States-1972 (106, p. 126); 1977 (111, p. 180).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1972: 86, p. 53); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1972=1.30; and 1977=1.09.

TABLE E-33

NATIONAL JUVENILE POPULATION AND ARREST FREQUENCIES BY INDEX OFFENSE: MALE AND FEMALE (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-12, p. 166)

OFFENSE	SEX	
	MALE	FEMALE
Index	639,827	144,670
Non-Index	842,414	179,491
Violent	71,063	8,200
Property	568,764	136,470
Larceny-Theft	297,074	117,155
Aggravated Assault	29,815	5,206
Murder	1,493	136
Arson	7,054	731
Motor Vehicle Theft	62,534	6,198
Robbery	35,764	2,757
Burglary	209,156	13,117
Forcible Rape	3,991	101
Population	32,780,000	31,463,000

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977 (111, p. 179)

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1977: 92, p. 17).

TABLE E-34

MALE AND FEMALE ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES* FOR INDEX VERSUS NON-INDEX OFFENSES (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-13, p. 167)

	RATES (per 100,000)			
	NON-INDEX		INDEX	
YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
1964	1,893	468	1,452	186
1968	2,205	424	1,739	266
1972	2,719	631	2,022	451
1973	2,528	571	1,964	440
1974	3,029	626	2,580	602
1975	2,960	625	2,530	597
1976	2,813	617	2,157	517
1977	2,955	656	2,245	529

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rates} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964* (98, p. 113); *1968* (102, p. 119); *1972* (106, p. 130); *1973* (107, p. 132); *1974* (108, p. 190); *1975* (109, p. 187); *1976* (110, p. 180); and *1977* (111, p. 179).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports* (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 90, p. 13); (1973: 90, p. 12); (1974: 92, p. 20); (1975: 92, p. 19); (1976: 92, p. 18); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.72; 1968=1.45; 1972=1.47; 1973=1.41; 1974=1.85; 1975=1.47; 1976=1.32; and 1977=1.15.

TABLE E-35

MALE AND FEMALE ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES* FOR VIOLENT AND INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-14, p.168)

YEAR	RATES (per 100,000)			
	PROPERTY		VIOLENT	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
1964	1,346	177	104	9
1968	1,564	252	161	14
1972	1,781	422	241	29
1973	1,730	414	233	25
1974	2,286	567	295	34
1975	2,234	561	297	37
1976	1,947	490	210	28
1977	1,995	499	249	30

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rates} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 113); 1968 (102, p. 119); 1972 (106, p. 130); 1973 (107, p. 132); 1974 (108, p. 190); 1975 (109, p. 187); 1976 (110, p. 180); and 1977 (111, p. 179).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 90, p. 13); (1973: 90, p. 12); (1974: 92, p. 20); (1975: 92, p. 19); (1976: 92, p. 18); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.72; 1968=1.45; 1972=1.47; 1973=1.41; 1974=1.85; 1975=1.47; 1976=1.32; and 1977=1.15.

TABLE E-36

MALE AND FEMALE ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES* FOR ROBBERY AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-15, p. 169)

YEAR	RATES (per 100,000)			
	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT		ROBBERY	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
1964	47	6	48	3
1968	61	9	87	5
1972	91	17	129	11
1973	86	15	127	10
1974	106	21	165	13
1975	113	22	164	14
1976	92	20	102	9
1977	105	19	126	10

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rates} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 113); 1968 (102, p. 119); 1972 (106, p. 130); 1973 (107, p. 132); 1974 (108, p. 190); 1975 (109, p. 187); 1976 (110, p. 180); and 1977 (111, p. 179).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 90, p. 13); (1973: 90, p. 12); (1974: 92, p. 20); (1975: 92, p. 19); (1976: 92, p. 18); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.72; 1968=1.45; 1972=1.47; 1973=1.41; 1974=1.85; 1975=1.47; 1976=1.32; and 1977=1.15.

TABLE E-37

MALE AND FEMALE ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES* FOR BURGLARY, LARCENY-THEFT, AND MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-16, p.170)

YEAR	RATES (per 100,000)					
	BURGLARY		LARCENY-THEFT		MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
1964	400	16	684	149	263	12
1968	523	22	773	214	267	16
1972	589	31	952	375	241	16
1973	628	35	856	362	245	17
1974	814	46	1,214	502	258	19
1975	832	46	1,172	495	230	19
1976	706	41	1,052	432	188	17
1977	734	48	1,042	428	219	23

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rates} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 113); 1968 (102, p. 119); 1972 (106, p. 130); 1973 (107, p. 132); 1974 (108, p. 190); 1975 (109, p. 187); 1976 (110, p. 180) and 1977 (111, p. 179).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 90, p. 13); (1973: 90, p. 12); (1974: 92, p. 20); (1975: 92, p. 19); (1976: 92, p. 18); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.72; 1968=1.45; 1972=1.47; 1973=1.41; 1974=1.85; 1975=1.47; 1976=1.32; and 1977=1.15.

TABLE E-38

NATIONAL JUVENILE POPULATION AND ARREST FREQUENCIES BY OFFENSE: WHITE AND BLACK (1977)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-17, p.174)

OFFENSE	RACE	
	WHITE	BLACK
Index	554,655	239,501
Non-Index	852,227	198,146
Violent	39,119	40,295
Property	515,536	199,206
Robbery	14,095	24,121
Forcible Rape	1,888	2,270
Murder	773	813
Aggravated Assault	22,362	13,091
Larceny/Theft	293,696	124,897
Burglary	167,613	59,722
Motor Vehicle Theft	54,227	14,587
Arson	6,673	1,326
Population	53,477,000	9,430,000

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1977 (111, p. 185).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1977: 92, p. 17).

TABLE E-39

BLACK AND WHITE ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES* FOR INDEX VERSUS NON-INDEX OFFENSES (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-18, p. 175)

	RATES (per 100,000)			
YEAR	INDEX		NON-INDEX	
	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
1964	1,695	642	1,859	1,164
1968	2,328	772	2,089	1,214
1972	2,762	926	2,584	1,495
1973	2,743	993	2,305	1,572
1974	3,279	1,240	2,555	1,794
1975	2,945	1,202	2,121	1,661
1976	2,681	1,069	2,053	1,646
1977	2,793	1,141	2,311	1,753

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 115); 1968 (102, p. 121); 1972 (106, p. 132); 1973 (107, p. 134); 1974 (108, p. 192); 1975 (109, p. 193); 1976 (110, p. 186); 1977 (111, p. 185).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 90, p. 13); (1973: 90, p. 12); (1974: 92, p. 20); (1975: 92, p. 19); (1976: 92, p. 18); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.61; 1968=1.47; 1972=1.40; 1973=1.45; 1974=1.69; 1975=1.25; 1976=1.23; 1977=1.10

TABLE E-40

BLACK AND WHITE ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES* FOR VIOLENT VERSUS INDEX PROPERTY OFFENSES (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-19, p. 176)

YEAR	RATES (per 100,000)			
	VIOLENT OFFENSES		PROPERTY OFFENSES	
	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
1964	108	23	1,508	619
1968	323	33	2,005	739
1972	511	49	2,251	877
1973	479	56	2,264	936
1974	545	71	2,735	1,169
1975	498	75	2,447	1,128
1976	417	64	2,264	1,006
1977	470	80	2,324	1,060

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 115); 1968 (102, p. 121); 1972 (106, p. 132); 1973 (107, p. 134); 1974 (108, p. 192); 1975 (109, p. 193); 1976 (110, p. 186); 1977 (111, p. 185).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 90, p. 13); (1973: 90, p. 12); (1974: 92, p. 20); (1975: 92, p. 19); (1976: 92, p. 18); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.61; 1968=1.47; 1972=1.40; 1973=1.45; 1974=1.69; 1975=1.25; 1976=1.23; 1977=1.10

TABLE E-41

BLACK AND WHITE ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES* FOR MURDER AND FORCIBLE RAPE (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-20, p. 178)

YEAR	RATES (per 100,000)			
	MURDER		FORCIBLE RAPE	
	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
1964	3.7	.5	13.2	1.8
1968	8.7	.7	19.1	3.4
1972	14.7	1.0	30.8	3.2
1973	12.0	1.1	27.2	3.6
1974	12.6	1.3	28.5	4.0
1975	10.0	1.4	23.3	3.6
1976	8.5	1.2	24.2	3.6
1977	9.5	1.5	26.5	3.9

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 115); 1968 (102, p. 121); 1972 (106, p. 132); 1973 (107, p. 134); 1974 (108, p. 192); 1975 (109, p. 193); 1976 (110, p. 186); 1977 (111, p. 185).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 90, p. 13); (1973: 90, p. 12); (1974: 92, p. 20); (1975: 92, p. 19); (1976: 92, p. 18); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.61; 1968=1.47; 1972=1.40; 1973=1.45; 1974=1.69; 1975=1.25; 1976=1.23; 1977=1.10

TABLE E-42

BLACK AND WHITE ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES* FOR ROBBERY AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-21, p. 179)

YEAR	RATES (per 100,000)			
	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT		ROBBERY	
	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
1964	79	12	90	8
1968	107	17	188	13
1972	171	28	294	17
1973	161	32	279	21
1974	175	39	329	26
1975	164	40	297	28
1976	153	39	233	23
1977	153	46	281	29

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 115); 1968 (102, p. 121); 1972 (106, p. 132); 1973 (107, p. 134); 1974 (108, p. 192); 1975 (109, p. 193); 1976 (110, p. 186); 1977 (111, p. 185).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 90, p. 13); (1973: 90, p. 12); (1974: 92, p. 20); (1975: 92, p. 19); (1976: 92, p. 18); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.61; 1968=1.47; 1972=1.40; 1973=1.45; 1974=1.69; 1975=1.25; 1976=1.23; 1977=1.10

TABLE E-43

BLACK AND WHITE ADJUSTED NATIONAL JUVENILE ARREST RATES* FOR LARCENY-THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT, AND BURGLARY (1964, 1968, 1972-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-22, p. 180)

YEAR	RATES (per 100,000)					
	BURGLARY		LARCENY THEFT		MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	
	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
1964	430	160	843	345	234	114
1968	612	216	1,058	408	335	115
1972	685	250	1,291	528	275	99
1973	697	286	1,293	543	273	108
1974	854	357	1,625	695	256	118
1975	765	363	1,502	661	178	104
1976	681	318	1,434	597	149	91
1977	697	345	1,457	604	170	111

*Adjusted arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula (as discussed more fully on pp. 332-335):

$$\text{Adjusted Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}} \times \text{Adjustment Factor}$$

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 115); 1968 (102, p. 121); 1972 (106, p. 132); 1973 (107, p. 134); 1974 (108, p. 192); 1975 (109, p. 193); 1976 (110, p. 186); 1977 (111, p. 185).

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1972: 90, p. 13); (1973: 90, p. 12); (1974: 92, p. 20); (1975: 92, p. 19); (1976: 92, p. 18); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.61; 1968=1.47; 1972=1.40; 1973=1.45; 1974=1.69; 1975=1.25; 1976=1.23; 1977=1.10

TABLE E-44

POPULATION* AND FREQUENCY OF JUVENILE COURT REFERRALS FOR SELECTED INDEX OFFENSES--BLACK JUVENILES VERSUS ALL OTHER JUVENILES (NEBRASKA, 1975-77)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-23, p. 190)

YEAR	RACE	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	ROBBERY	BURGLARY	AUTO THEFT
1975	All Juveniles	52	138	804	281
	Black Juveniles	14	77	135	21
1976	All Juveniles	41	86	820	264
	Black Juveniles	8	29	147	25
1977	All Juveniles	40	88	662	268
	Black Juveniles	18	33	121	22

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: Nebraska Commission of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Juvenile Court Report - 1975 (144, p. 18); 1976 (145, p. 34); and 1977 (146, p. 27).

*Black juvenile population was estimated to be approximately 5 to 10 percent of total juvenile population based upon examination of Bureau of the Census population figures for 1970 (93, p. 25 and 95, p. 33).

TABLE E-45

ARIZONA MALE AND FEMALE JUVENILE ARRESTS AND CORRECTIONAL COMMITMENTS FOR THE OFFENSES OF ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, AND LARCENY-THEFT (1975)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-24, p. 221)

OFFENSE	SEX			
	MALE		FEMALE	
	Arrests	Correctional Commitments	Arrests	Correctional Commitments
Robbery	161	25	16	1
Aggravated Assault	292	33	42	2
Burglary	2,162	134	152	6
Larceny-Theft	3,864	41	1,404	6

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: Compiled from information received from Uniform Crime Reports.

Correctional Data: Compiled from information received in the National Survey of Court and Correction Information (135).

TABLE E-46

RACIAL COMPARISON OF JUVENILE POPULATION AND CORRECTIONAL COMMITMENTS FOR BURGLARY (ARIZONA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA): 1978

(Corresponds to Figure IV-25, p. 196)

POPULATION* AND COMMITMENTS	BLACK JUVENILES	ALL JUVENILES
POPULATION		
Arizona	24,000	614,000
Florida	457,000	2,112,000
Georgia	662,000	1,646,000
JUVENILE CORRECTIONAL COMMITMENTS FOR BURGLARY		
Arizona	8	52
Florida	272	771
Georgia	378	709

Sources: Correctional data compiled from information received in the National Survey of Court and Correction Information (135, 137, 141). POpulation estimated from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States - 1971 (93, p. 25) and 1976 (95, p. 33).

*1978 population estimated based upon examination of Bureau of the Census population figures for 1970.

TABLE E-47

ARIZONA JUVENILE ARREST AND CORRECTIONAL COMMITMENT FREQUENCIES FOR AGGRAVATED ASSAULT AND BURGLARY: BLACK, WHITE, AND INDIAN/SPANISH AMERICAN (1975)

(Corresponds to Figure IV-26, p. 197)

RACE	ARRESTS		CORRECTIONAL COMMITMENTS	
	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	BURGLARY	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT	BURGLARY
Whites	435	3,771	15	69
Blacks	88	336	8	25
Indian/Spanish Americans	27	129	12	46
Total	550	4,236	35	140

Sources:

Arrest Frequencies: Compiled by National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center from special request data from Uniform Crime Reports.

Correctional Commitment Frequencies: Correctional data compiled from information received in the National Survey of Court and Correction Information (135).

TABLE E-48

INDEX OFFENSE AND ARREST RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION REPORTED FOR THE NATION: ALL AGES (1964-77)

(Corresponds to Figure V-1, p. 233)

YEAR	REPORTED ARREST** RATES	REPORTED OFFENSE RATES	MODIFIED OFFENSE RATES*
1964	407	1,361	2,373
1965	430	1,434	2,434
1966	444	1,656	2,655
1967	503	1,922	2,972
1968	523	2,235	3,350
1969	556	2,471	3,658
1970	624	2,740	3,960
1971	676	2,907	4,140
1972	679	2,830	3,938
1973	652	4,116	4,129
1974	696	4,822	-
1975	891	5,282	-
1976	831	5,266	-
1977	917	5,055	-

*The "modified" offense rates shown for the years 1964 through 1973 reflect recomputations made by UCR in 1974 (108, p. 55) in order to adjust for a change in the definition of larceny-theft (see pp. 72-74 of the text for further discussion of this definitional change).

**Reported arrest rates per 100,000 population were computed based on the following formula:

$$\text{Arrest Rate} = \frac{\text{Arrest Frequency}}{\text{Population}}$$

Sources:

For Reported Arrest Rates--

Arrest Frequencies: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States - 1964 (98, p. 108); 1965 (99, p. 112); 1966 (100, p. 114); 1967 (101, p. 121); 1968 (102, p. 115); 1969 (103, p. 113); 1970 (104, p. 126); 1971 (105, p. 122); 1972 (106, p. 126); 1973 (107, p. 128); 1974 (108, p. 186); 1975 (109, p. 188); 1976 (110, p. 181); and 1977 (111, p. 180).

(Continued on next page)

TABLE E-48
(continued)

Population: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (1964: 90, p. 35); (1965: 90, p. 34); (1966: 90, p. 33); (1967: 90, p. 32); (1968: 90, p. 31); (1969: 90, p. 30); (1970: 90, p. 29); (1971: 90, p. 28); (1972: 90, p. 27); (1973: 90, p. 26); (1974: 92, p. 20); (1975: 92, p. 19); (1976: 92, p. 18); and (1977: 92, p. 17).

For Reported Offense Rates--

U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States: 1964 (98, p. 3); 1965 (99, p. 3); 1966 (100, p. 59); 1967 (101, p. 61); 1968 (102, p. 59); 1969 (103, p. 57); 1970 (104, p. 65); 1971 (105, p. 61); 1972 (106, p. 61); 1973 (107, p. 59); 1974 (108, p. 55); 1975 (109, p. 49); 1976 (110, p. 37); and 1977 (111, p. 37).

For Modified Offense Rates--

U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States: 1974 (108, p. 55).

Adjustment Factors: 1964=1.45; 1965=1.45; 1966=1.41; 1967=1.35; 1968=1.37; 1969=1.41; 1970=1.35; 1971=1.33; 1972=1.30; 1973=1.35; 1974=1.59; 1975=1.19; 1976=1.22; and 1977=1.09.

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PART C

RELATIONSHIP TO SUBSTANCE ABUSE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this assessment is to synthesize and summarize the state-of-knowledge concerning the relationship between substance abuse and serious crime among juveniles. It is intended to provide a basis for continuing research and to suggest areas for preventive intervention and policy development.

METHOD

A number of abstracts of the literature and indexes covering criminal justice, psychological and sociological studies were searched for the years 1968 through 1978. All article titles containing such words as violence or serious crime were cross-checked for drug-related terms. For each title identified, the study, or an abstract of it, were examined. Sixty-three studies were found which met the criteria for review for this assessment. Through examination of the reference lists for those studies, 14 additional studies were identified which satisfied the criteria. Nine of the 77 studies were reviews of the literature prior to 1974 and were used to establish the basic state-of-knowledge as of that time. The other studies were reviewed for the additional knowledge they could contribute to the pre-1974 findings.

All but four of the studies reviewed were concerned primarily with adults; however, all had some relevance for juvenile drug abuse and serious crime. Of the 68 post-1973 studies, most were concerned with either opiate or alcohol abuse and crime.

KEY FINDINGS

The studies consistently revealed three different patterns of relationship between drug abusers and serious crime:

- the drug-abusing criminal, who usually has a lengthy career of crime prior to the onset of drug use,
- the criminal-abuser, who generally does not become involved in any extensive criminal behavior until after the onset of drug abuse, and
- the criminal-alcoholic, whose violent behavior and alcohol abuse both begin in early adolescence.

Substance abuse and serious crime are centered primarily on juveniles in the latter two classifications.

The crimes of the criminal-abuser are nearly always related to the need for money with which to purchase drugs. The crimes of the criminal-alcoholic are largely unpremediated and episodic, resulting in violence.

> No association was found between serious crime and the use of the depressant, stimulant or hallucinogenic drugs, other than their role in fomenting "rip-offs" and retaliations within the drug world itself. Marijuana was not directly associated with serious crime, although since it is highly associated with the use of other drugs it tended to be indirectly correlated with the occurrence of serious crime through users of those other drugs (opiates and alcohol).

The relationship between substance abuse and serious crime among juveniles is not simple and unmediated by other influences. The studies concur that elements of the social and economic background of the individual, his or her personality and psychological set, the influence of locale and time are all of importance in determining whether a criminal event will occur.

> Only alcohol among the substances is identified as having a direct causal action in precipitating violence, but even there, it is likely that it is the predispositions to violent behavior which are released by the alcohol, not created by it.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Accepting the general validity of the studies reviewed, it appears that:

- a considerable proportion of the serious crime committed by juveniles is indirectly associated with substance abuse, and
- efforts to prevent or control juvenile serious crime must become concerned also with the prevention and control of juvenile substance abuse.

If prevention and control measures are to be successful, a multi-agency effort is a basic requirement:

- The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention should establish a cooperative and joint working arrangement with such other agencies as the National Institute of Drug Abuse and the National Institute on Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse.
- Such a cooperative effort among health care, social and correctional agencies should also be continued at the State and local levels.
- Greater research effort to discover the relationship between substance abuse and serious crime among juveniles must be made if meaningful prevention and control programs are to be developed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The belief that various substances have the power to eradicate cultural and moral restraints and turn man into a raging and uncontrollable monster is deeply ingrained in the Western tradition. Tales of magic elixirs and potions leading to excessive and violent behavior are found in early Egyptian and Grecian myths. Fears of the temptations of the devil brew are found throughout the Middle Ages. On Walpurgis night humans became demonic in drunken revelry. The early Puritans could see a direct relationship between "Demon Rum" and witchcraft, idolatry and sloth (11, pp. 323-342) much like Dr. Jekyll's deadly brew turned him into the murderous Hyde.

In more recent time, the proponents of the 1937 Federal Marijuana Tax Act relied heavily on the ancient legend of the Assassins, who "under the influence of hashish ... would madly rush at their enemies, and ruthlessly massacre everyone within their grasp" (45, p. 150), to persuade the public and the Congress that the "Killer Weed" must be outlawed. The fact that this version was pure fabrication and distortion of the original legend mattered little (45, pp. 149-156; 15, p. 154). The imagery caught the public imagination and continues to exert a strong influence over popular opinion about marijuana and justifies police action against it (11, p. 304; 12, pp. 227-230). Therefore, attempts to discuss crime and violence in society, in realistic terms, must necessarily examine as fully as possible the relationship between behavior and the abuse of drugs and alcohol.

With the rapid rise in serious juvenile crime during the mid-1970's (especially violent crime) there was an unreflective tendency to look to drugs as an explanation. The timing was right. The great drug boom among American youth reached its height in the late 1960's and was followed shortly after by rising youth crime rates. In the media and the popular imagination it seemed as though surely the latter must be a consequence of the former.

In 1964, in answer to a Gallup Poll question, only two percent of the responses cited "drinking, dope addiction" as major causes of crime. By 1970, the Minnesota Poll showed seven percent of the responses blaming "drugs and alcohol" for the high rate of violent crimes in the country. The Gallup Poll of 1972 indicates that 21 percent of the respondents felt that "drugs/drug addiction" were behind the high crime rate (25, pp. 290-293). A nationwide poll of law enforcement officials in 1972 indicated a belief that greater proportions of crime at that time were due to drugs than in the two years previously, as well as anticipation that the increase would continue through the following two years (65, p. 707). Publicly, Police Chief Ed Davis of Los Angeles, Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine, and other officials throughout the nation had little hesitation in attributing major proportions of the crimes within their jurisdictions to the increasing use of drugs (34, p. 222).

PURPOSE OF THIS ASSESSMENT

The primary goal of this assessment is to provide a base of knowledge concerning the impact of substance abuse on serious juvenile crime. This base should in turn lead to the clarification and development of consistent policy statements for the guidance of legislators and operational agencies.

In achieving this goal, this assessment will endeavor to do more than merely review the existing literature; it will attempt to synthesize findings from research on the topic and identify those on which there is substantial agreement and those that are still on contention. Through this process it should then be possible to identify other questions in the field not yet raised.

The scope of this assessment is encompassed by the two concepts: "serious juvenile crime" and "substance abuse." "Juvenile" refers generally to the age range: 10 through 17 years. However, the review of research is not limited to studies in that age range. If a study clearly has implications for such youth, even though based on subjects outside that age range, it will be reviewed. The "serious crimes" with which this assessment is concerned are primarily the major crimes of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports: homicide, forcible rape, assault, robbery, burglary, larceny-theft and auto theft, especially those of a violent or extra-aggressive nature. This definition will not exclude such potentially violent crimes as arson and kidnapping if they are relevant. It will not include status offenses, misdemeanors or offenses associated with the sale or possession of drugs. Since the literature relating drug abuse and crime does not focus on specific offenses but rather on crime in general, this assessment will adopt a flexible stance and judge each study in terms of whether it can reasonably be included under the general category of "serious juvenile crime."

The concept of substance abuse implies or connotes chronicity. The distinction between a "user" of drugs or alcohol and an abuser is generally defined in terms of recency of use, frequency of use over time and the general debilitating effects, physically or socially; a distinction that will be applied here. The studies reviewed will be primarily concerned with these drugs of abuse: opiates, depressants, stimulants, hallucinogens, marijuana and alcohol. The assessment will not be concerned with studies of the relationship of over-the-counter drugs such as aspirin, or of experimental drugs, with crime, even where they eventuate in violent behavior. For example, studies linking psychotic episodes to insulin reaction will not be reviewed.

It is clear that all these definitions are loose and inexact, but this is unavoidable. When the literature is surveyed it seems clear that any greater rigor would exclude too many studies that are both timely and relevant. What has been defined is the central core of concern. The further one gets away from those core concerns: the seven major crimes, the six categories of drugs, "juvenile" and "abuser," the hazier become the criteria and the more the writer must rely on judgment concerning what is usable and relevant and what can be exluded. It is in these peripheral areas that the reader is most likely to disagree with the judgment of the writer.

METHOD OF APPROACH

This assessment attempts to up-date the answer to the following question: What consistent relationships between substance abuse and serious juvenile crime are found in the research literature? The question limits the scope of the search to drug abuse aspects of a number of crimes which are more than chance relationships. It also focuses the search on empirical research reports, rather than historical or theoretical papers.

The search began with book and article titles obtained from standard indexes of the research literature and specialized bibliographies. The following standard reference indexes were used:

Abstracts on Criminology and Penology
Crime and Delinquency Literature
DACAS: Drug Abuse Current Awareness System
Dissertation Abstracts International
Psychological Abstracts
Social Sciences Citation Index
Sociological Abstracts

The indexes were entered with the primary key words: Aggressive Behavior, Crime and Criminals, Juvenile Delinquency, and Violence. Each work listed under these major headings was then scrutinized for such secondary cross-reference words as: Drugs, Narcotics, Heroin, Opiates, Depressants, Barbiturates, Amphetamines, LSD, Psychedelics, Hallucinogens, Marijuana, Alcohol or other drug-related terms. Each title satisfying both criteria were recorded. Since the review was intended to be of recent material, only indexes or bibliographies containing works published since 1968 were consulted.

When the list of titles from these primary sources was completed, a search was made for the actual work or an abstract. These were then reviewed in terms of the following criteria:

- the work must be based on empirical data
- it must be relevant to the American scene (foreign works based on American data were accepted, works based on non-American subjects were rejected unless they had universal applicability)
- it must be written in the English language
- it must be relevant to the subject of the assessment.

Some of the better sounding titles were from foreign journals (particularly the Eastern European countries with problems of juvenile alcoholism). Others were not relevant, e.g., a work titled "Drugs and Violent Behavior" concerned the control of episodic psychosis with tranquilizers. A number were simple essays or editorials devoid of empirical data. A large group was composed of studies of the effects of drugs on animal behavior. All of the above were excluded from the assessment. As each study was reviewed, its reference list was checked for relevant titles which had been missed in the preliminary search. Such studies were also reviewed and eliminated as above or retained.

Some of the references were to obscure journals or foreign publications not available in local libraries despite the presence of a major State library and five universities. These eleven titles could not be reviewed. Since they were seldom referenced in other reviews or studies their omission does not seriously bias this assessment. Of the work retained, none turned out to be prior reviews of the literature. At that point, it was decided that there was little to be gained by reiterating the work contained in those reviews. All had been done for various national commissions and for the most part were readily available. The most recent studies about marijuana and crime provide summary information through 1974. The most recent general drug review was for 1972. None of the reviews focused on juvenile crime alone, but all were relevant to the general topic of this assessment. These early reviews were used as a base from which to focus on more recent empirical literature. Thus, a summarization of the general findings of the reviews provided a framework for 1974 against which subsequent research could be compared. All studies which were found in the early reviews were eliminated from the final list of studies reviewed for this assessment, unless it contributed some new knowledge.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ASSESSMENT

Chapter II presents the evidence and summarizes the findings from the nine earlier reviews of the literature, especially those aspects of the reviews that are relevant to juvenile crime and drug abuse. Most of these were organized according to some particular category of drugs: opiates, depressants, stimulants, hallucinogens, marijuana or alcohol, to criminal behavior. This assessment will follow the same organization, with successive chapters and sections devoted to the various drugs of abuse. Chapter III will look at the opiates, Chapter IV will review the literature on alcohol, and Chapter V will examine the other drugs. Chapter VI will attempt to bring the preceding information together into a comprehensive summary and will also examine the policy and operational implications of the assessment.

CHAPTER II

DRUG ABUSE AND SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME: THE STATE-OF-KNOWLEDGE AS OF 1974

INTRODUCTION

Only a few selective reviews of the literature relating drug use to criminal behavior are found prior to 1967. In that year the first major review of the literature appeared with the publication of the Task Force Reports of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (7, 9, 10). Building largely on that work, within the next six years there was an outburst of reviews and reports on the subject. Several of these were general, surveying the entire drug field (6; 71), others were specific, focusing on the relationship between some particular drug and crime (48; 72; 34; 16; 33; 1). Although the latter four were not published until after 1973, they are largely based on studies previously completed. Thus, the nine reviews establish the knowledge available on drug abuse and criminal behavior prior to 1974. Unfortunately, few of the studies dealt specifically with the juvenile offender, but nearly all point to the development of both drug abusing and criminal behaviors during the formative years of their subjects.*

This chapter will examine the findings of these reviews in relation to the various drugs of abuse, noting especially where they add to pre-existing knowledge, dispute previous findings or open up new areas for consideration. As already noted, these findings will serve as the comparison framework for assessing the relevance of subsequent studies.

---

*An excellent collection of abstracts of the literature on drug use and criminal behavior from both the pre-1974 and the post-1973 periods is contained in Gregory A. Austin and Dan J. Lettieri, Drugs and Crime, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, December, 1976. Most of the pre-1974 studies abstracted therein were basic to the reviews cited above and are not, therefore, cited in the bibliography for this assessment. For the post-1973 studies, the relevant original works are cited directly.

Each of the following sections will consider the nature and general effects of each of the types of drugs. Then, the review findings will be presented, followed by a short summary.

OPIATES

The opiates, also known as narcotics, are natural or synthetic drugs with analgesic effects on humans and animals. Among them are opium, morphine, heroin, meperidine, methadone and others. Their primary medical use is for the relief of pain.

It is these drugs which are usually referred to when speaking of addiction or drug addicts. Addiction is generally defined by the presence of tolerance and withdrawal symptoms. With increasing tolerance the user needs larger and larger doses to maintain the same effect. The symptoms of withdrawal occur when the drug use is stopped, causing both acute physical and psychological reactions. For non-addicting drugs the appropriate term is habituation, which is increasing or continuing compulsive use of the drug, but without the rise of tolerance or the occurrence of withdrawal symptoms.

The general effects of the opiates are primarily pain reduction, drowsiness, mental clouding characterized by inability to concentrate, thinking difficulty, apathy, loss of hunger drive, sex drive and anger in response to provocation. As Tinklenberg notes: "Certain, but not all individuals, find this state extremely pleasant." He goes on to point out that "many pain-free people initially experience unpleasant reactions" to the opiates (71, p. 261).

Findings

By 1974 there was general agreement that opiates were not a direct cause of crime "in the sense that they inevitably lead to criminality" (10, p. 57). A series of surveys of both opiate users and criminals during the 1960's and early 1970's were consistent in finding that "The majority of current heroin addicts have substantial criminal histories prior to the first use of opiates. Hence, the argument that addiction cause (sic) previously law-abiding persons to commit crime is untenable" (34, p. 260). In a majority of addicts, a criminal career was well started by the age of twelve, with the onset of drug use following several years later. Comparisons showed that the pre-addiction criminal patterns of the addicts were quite similar to those of non-addict criminals (34, p. 225).

The studies were equally consistent in finding that opiate abuse was not necessarily a precursor of violent behavior (6, p. 1483; 34, p. 245). Indeed, a number of studies indicated that opiate users were "less likely to commit homicide, rape, and assault than are users of alcohol, amphetamines and barbiturates" (71, p. 263) and that "the weight of the evidence suggests that the probability of violent behavior is not substantially increased by heroin abuse" (34, p. 245). Opiate abusers were found less likely than non-drug users to be arrested for crimes against the person (34, p. 246). Beginning in the early 1970's, however, there was a change. As one writer puts it, "The contemporary narcotic addict is much more likely to commit crimes against persons than his counterpart of recent years" (16, p. 132). Greenberg notes that:

> Burglary carries a substantial risk of violence, particularly when it involves a private residence. Since this, coupled with robbery, seems to be the crime most closely associated with addiction, it must be concluded that addicts will commit crimes involving a risk of violence, but usually only when necessary to obtain money (34, pp. 247-248).

Chambers suggests a reason for this growing trend:

> Although the majority of crimes committed to support addictions involve the theft of goods which are then sold or traded to secure drugs, the rate at which addicts are turning to crimes against persons to secure money rather than goods and to the selling of drugs are both alarming (16, p. 132).

The move to robbery, for the addict, is economically worthwhile. With one robbery the addict may procure more money than he might get from a dozen petty thefts or burglaries.

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Most of the studies assumed that the need for money to maintain and support their addiction was the primary motive for criminality among addicts (71, p. 263; 16, p. 140). This assumption seems to be incompatible, however, with the finding that most addicts were criminals prior to their addiction. Was pre-addiction criminality differentially motivated from post-addiction criminality? The studies seem to be saying that on the one hand addicts are simply criminals who have turned to drugs, but on the other hand that after doing so they must resort to crime to maintain their habit. If the second is true, then the temporal sequence studies are immaterial in assessing the relationship between opiates and crime. If it is not true, then post-addiction criminality must be seen as simply an extension of pre-addiction criminality and not necessarily related to addiction.

A number of studies indicated that even though addicts often had extensive criminal records in their background prior to addiction, following addiction their arrests tended to increase (10, p. 57). Greenberg and Adler re-examined those studies and point out a major methodological problem:

> The age at onset of addiction appears to be the later teens or early twenties. This is also a high risk age for criminal activity. Since most addicts seem to have been criminally deviant prior to addiction, it is probable that, although the type of crime may change, criminal activity would occur at about the same rate regardless of the presence of addiction (34, p. 243).

They then conclude that "there is no reason to believe that addiction is the crucial variable which accounts for increases in criminality, if this increase, in fact, exists" (34, p. 244).

This seems to leave the entire issue of the relationship between opiates and crime up in the air. In this dilemma, two somewhat parallel sets of observations are useful. The first is the seemingly obvious point that the term "addict" categorizes a number of highly heterogeneous individuals and sub-groups.

Blum points out that "among addicts there exist discrete groups each with its probable set of life styles, some criminal and some not, and that even within these groups there is diversity" (6, p. 1483). Greenberg and Adler, taking a critical look at the studies they review, note that "since the aforementioned studies typically select their samples from arrest records or treatment programs, it is not possible to evaluate whether they are representative of the total population of addicts" (34, p. 239). The subjects of most of the studies are those addicts most likely to have been arrested. Thus, those addicts who are best known to law enforcement and available for research purposes are those who tended to have criminal careers prior to their addiction.

The second set of observations relates the criminal behavior and the drug abusing behavior of the addict to his background in a highly delinquent subculture. Thus, the criminal addict is seen as "an individual who has been immersed in a criminal subculture and is introduced to narcotics as a result of his socialization into this subculture" (34, p. 235). Among addicts with a delinquent life-style "drug use is part and parcel of their other activities, crime included" (10, p. 57). Within the criminal subculture "drug use and criminal behavior may form mutually reinforcing relationships" (71, p. 267). The intermix of criminal and drug abusing behavior within that subculture admits no determination of cause and effect--it is the chicken and the egg riddle over again. On the one hand, opiate abuse is seen as increasing "the probabilities that the individual will engage in robbery and other acquisitive crimes" (71, p. 263) while on the other hand "it would seem that while engaging in criminal acts does not lead to addiction in all cases, or even in most cases, it increases the probabilities of addiction" (34, p. 260).

In the midst of this indeterminance, Blum points to the two possibilities based on some solid and not so solid evidence for the interface of opiate abuse and serious crime. One is due to the "evidence in man for increased irritability during opiate withdrawal" (6, p. 1486). He asks the question:

> Whether the person undergoing withdrawal and simultaneously engaging in criminality is more likely to hurt someone because of irrascibility, nervousness, lack of impulse control or the like which is an immediate and specific feature of the withdrawal itself (6, p. 1485).

Tinklenberg found additional support for the idea that angry assault can and does occur among narcotic addicts undergoing withdrawal (74, p. 352). Both speak only of this happening as a possibility but no data on the extent to which it happens is presented.

The possibility lies in the fact that "large doses of opiates produce death" (6, p. 1489). Here the use of the drug itself is a vehicle for violence on the user. Induced overdose is a known technique for safely eliminating undesirable or untrustworthy members of the drug underworld.

Summary

By 1974 the research literature had fairly well established that:

- The use of opiates does not necessarily contribute to delinquent behavior.
- Some opiate users commit criminal acts.
- Some criminals come to use opiates.
- Most criminal opiate users had criminal records prior to the start of their opiate use.

A major trend seemed to be that:

- Criminal opiate users were increasingly turning to crimes against persons to obtain funds to support their habit.

Points still to be determined were:

- Whether there is any predictable relationship between opiate use and crime.
- The extent to which the criminal opiate user is representative of the entire population of opiate users.

- The extent to which the commitment of violent crimes can be attributed to opiate withdrawal anxiety.
- The extent to which apparent opiate overdose deaths are actually intentional homicide.

DEPRESSANTS

The depressant drugs include the barbiturates, tranquilizers and sedatives. In terms of illicit drug abuse, however, the term applies primarily to the barbiturates. Their effects on the body range from mild sedation to coma, depending upon the type of barbiturate used, the dosage, the method of use (oral or intravenous), the state of excitement of the user and user's degree of tolerance. Most people become drowsy with low doses of barbiturates; however, a few individuals demonstrate increased activity.

Findings

The general action of the depressants, as noted above, is sedation leading to inactivity and torpor. Presumably their use keeps the user from indulging in the active behavior crime or violence require. There are, however, some specific situations in which barbiturate use contributes to violent behavior: in high doses, in combination with some other drugs--amphetamines particularly, and during withdrawal after addiction (74, p. 355). Seconal, popularly known as "Reds", was believed by drug users to be especially likely to lead to violent behavior. One street dealer described the effect this way: "Kids get full of those reds, it's just like the Wild West days. Everyone has a gun and with the slightest argument, everyone starts shooting" (71, p. 256).

Barbiturates are much favored by youth. They are inexpensive, easy to conceal and readily usable. Their use is present at all social and economic levels. None of the early reviews make any special note of their connection with a "drug underworld" or "subculture" as with the opiates. The main reason for this may be that most barbiturates used illicitly are stock manufactured prescription drugs and the large underworld organization is not necessary to manufacture, smuggle, and peddle barbiturates as is true for heroin. More frequently, barbiturates are obtained through prescription, theft or smuggling and distributed through friendship networks.

Summary

Up to 1974 there was agreement on the following points:

- Under certain conditions, heavy doses of barbiturates, especially in conjunction with amphetamines, incline the user to assaultive behavior.
- Barbiturate use and accompanying assaultive behavior are primarily a phenomenon of youth.

Points still to be determined are:

- The conditions under which the barbiturate user turns to assaultive behavior.
- The psychophysiological processes involved in that relationship.

STIMULANTS

The stimulants include the amphetamines (Dexedrine, Benzedrine and Methadrine) and certain amphetamine-like chemicals (Ritalin, Preludin, Tenuate, Apisate and others), plus cocaine. The general effects of the stimulants include an increase in alertness, wakefulness, sensations of well-being and decreased fatigue and boredom. They tend to increase physical endurance and motor and speech activity. The amphetamines are addictive. With chronic use larger and larger doses are necessary to achieve the same effect. The increased tolerance and use of larger doses may be accompanied by the onset of paranoid psychosis characterized by suspiciousness, hostility and persecutory delusions, visual and auditory hallucinations and thought disorder (71, p. 258).

Abusers of the amphetamines usually take the drug intervenously. With each injection the user experiences an orgastic "rush" or "flash" and subsequent sensations of vigor and euphoria that persist for several hours. The user may continue "shooting" for several days, renewing the effect every few hours until the acute effects fail to appear and are superseded by fatigue, depression, irritability and uneasiness.

With cocaine use, physiological tolerance does not develop, although it can induce paranoid reactions similar to the amphetamines, with emotional lability, impulsiveness and hostility.

Findings

The findings regarding stimulant abuse and serious crime are perhaps the most ambivalent of all the drug categories. One set of conclusions states:

> there are some data that link the use of amphetamines with criminal behavior, especially in comparison to the use of most other social and illicit drugs. Clinical reports strongly suggest that assaultive behavior can directly result from the pharmacological properties of the amphetamines, particularly when they are used repetitively in high doses. Paranoid psychoses characterized by unfounded suspiciousness, hostility, and delusions are the most extreme amphetamine-induced behavior predisposing to criminal activity (71, pp. 260-261).

Reviewing largely the same data, Greenberg found that "Amphetamine use is not highly concentrated among criminal groups" (33, p. 124), and that among those amphetamine users who do commit crimes "the types of crimes do not differ from those committed by users of other drugs." She did find some evidence that amphetamine users were "slightly more likely than other drug users (but less likely than non-drug users) to commit certain violent crimes" (33, p. 115). The "certain violent crimes" are forcible rape and criminal homicide. She concludes that "the use of amphetamines per se is not particularly conducive to violence" (33, p. 124).

For cocaine the research is so sparse that no solid conclusions were obtained. The data available suggested:

> That some users of cocaine are involved in robbery and crimes against property--burglary and larceny-theft--at a greater rate than users of other drugs. The same investigation suggests cocaine users are less frequently involved in assaultive crimes (71, p. 264).

A part of the problem of ambiguity in studies of stimulant use and crime is that most of the research has been conducted on incarcerated or patient populations, yet there is some reason to believe that they are only a small subgroup of the total stimulant user population. Greenberg notes the presence of two major populations of amphetamine abusers--those "having substantial criminal histories prior to the first use of amphetamines" and a body of "white middle-class youths, whose use of the drug is exploratory in nature" (33, p. 124). Among the latter, criminality and violence are seen as following the onset of amphetamine use and are largely associated with drug dealing and distribution and confined to the drug scene itself (6, pp. 1491-1494; 33, pp. 107-108). Amphetamine use usually started quite young (14-15 years) among the criminal users of stimulants, while the other population seems to have started somewhat later (17-19 years), although there is little solid data to support this impression. The former population of course is of primary interest to this assessment.

Summary

Up to 1974 there was little agreement in the literature on amphetamine abuse and crime. There seemed agreement, however, that:

- Cocaine use had minimal, if any, association with serious crime.

A number of points must be determined, among them:

- The extent and nature of criminal activity among amphetamine users who do not have prior criminal records.
- The amount of criminal activity which occurs as a direct consequence of amphetamine psychosis.

- The proportion of criminal activity among amphetamine users which is directly related to drug dealing and distribution.

HALLUCINOGENS*

The hallucinogens are a class of drugs that induce marked alterations of normal thoughts, perceptions and moods. They include lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), dimethoxymethylamphetamine (STP), dimethyl-tryptamine (DMT), mescaline and psylocybin among other similar drugs. The effects on humans include dizziness, weakness and pupillary dilatation; followed by distortion of time sense, visual aberration, heightened auditory acuity, and synesthesia. The final psychic changes often include mood swings, depersonalization, distortions in body image, and dissociation of the self from external reality (71, p. 264).

Due to the rapid development of tolerance to the hallucinogens, they cannot be used continuously. The user usually uses the drug once every few days at most. More frequent use limits their effectiveness.

Findings

Prior to 1974 most hallucinogen use was restricted to white middle-class youth of the "hippie" variety. These usually had no prior criminal contracts or records, and crime in association with hallucinogen use was minimal at best (6, p. 1504; 71, p. 265). The only two possible problems with hallucinogen use and crime noted in the reviews were (1) the occurrence of the "flashback" phenomenon with recurring perceptual distortion and bizarre thought patterns, which might also include psychotic reactions leading to violence (74, p. 350; 71, p. 265), and (2) the increasing use of the hallucinogens among "less stable and more delinquent youth;" the possibility that as this continues "a larger number of anti-social incidents associated with drug use must be anticipated" (6, p. 1504).

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*Much of the variation in nomenclature and spelling in the field of drug abuse is a matter of personal bent and nit-picking. These writers prefer the term "hallucinogens" to the use of "psychedelics" and the spelling "marijuana" to "marihuana". In this assessment the latter term and spelling in each of the above will be used only where they appear in a quotation. In each case they are to be understood as being synonymous with the earlier term and spelling.

Hallucinogens are not expensive and are not difficult to obtain. The effects desired by the user of hallucinogens, such as alterations of perception and mood, are inconsistent with the aggressive action needed for criminal activity. "The available data suggests the use of psychedelic drugs may reduce inclinations toward assaultive behavior" (71, p. 265).

Summary

By 1974, only a few rare instances of violent or criminal behavior associated with hallucinogen use had been reported. These occurred primarily during drug-induced panic reactions. The reviews concurred on the point that:

- there is no clear and significant evidence of any relationship between hallucinogen use and serious crime.

MARIJUANA

Marijuana is the dried and cured leaves, stems and pods of the plant Indian hemp (Cannabis sativa). It is usually smoked in cigarette form, but sometimes in a pipe. Tetrahydrocannabinols (THC) and their metabolites are the principle active chemical ingredients in marijuana. The potency of the marijuana depends on the THC concentrations in the parent plant. This can vary widely depending on the area where the plant was grown. Hashish is a preparation made from the resinous materials of the cannabis plant, usually containing high concentrations of THC.

The initial effects of marijuana usually include euphoria, enhanced conviviality and mild stimulation. Heavier doses may bring about impaired immediate memory function, disturbed thought patterns, lapses of attention, and feelings of unfamiliarity. With higher doses, users become more withdrawn, less inclined to social interaction, and more likely to experience changes in body image, depersonalization, and sensory distortions. Marijuana tends to reduce physical strength and the inclination toward physical exertion, at least in tasks that require sustained effort (71, p. 250).

Findings

While marijuana smoking has been largely a youth activity usually conducted in a social environment, it also is used by older age groups. Its use is probably not found anymore among delinquent youth than among nondelinquent youth. In many cases marijuana is the first illicit drug used by youth, and in many cases it is the only one. This makes any assessment of the role which marijuana plays in serious crime most difficult, since most marijuana smokers are no more likely to become involved in criminal activity than are non-marijuana smoking youth. The situation is appropriately summed up by the Report of the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse:

> Rigorous studies of the relationship between marihuana use and violent crime suggest that marihuana users in the general population do not commit acts of aggression or violence significantly more frequently than do non-users; that marihuana does not heighten aggressive tendencies in most users and may, in some cases, serve to reduce aggressiveness, and that much of the observed relationship between marihuana and violence is probably a function of social, cultural and psychological variables such as multiple drug use, set and setting and involvement in a criminal or drug subculture (48, p. 432).

The above conclusion was supported by a series of studies which demonstrated that "while some individuals do commit crimes while under the influence of marihuana, marihuana users tend to be underrepresented in studies of assaultive offenders, especially if a comparison is made with users of alcohol, barbiturates, and amphetamines" (72, p. 190).

The only caveat to this conclusion is offered by Abel, whose review of the literature leads him to emphasize:

> that this conclusion is based on the "typical" marijuana user and tends to underemphasize the at-risk individual who might, in fact, react violently as a consequence of exacerbation of preexisting difficulties involving impulse control. More often than not, such individuals have a prior history of violent behavior associated with poor impulse control, and the use of drugs such as marijuana may reduce inhibitory control even further (1, p. 207).

Although Abel's objection may have merit, he provides no indication of the size or nature of his "at-risk" population. His argument could be equally well applied to other types of drug users and other situations. Given poor impulse control almost anything can precipitate a reaction, if the individual is susceptible. What is lacking is an indication of likelihood or probability of such an occurrence.

Summary

All studies prior to 1974 were in agreement that:

- there is no evidence of any special relationship between marijuana use and serious crime or violent behavior.

ALCOHOL

Alcoholic beverages include various distilled spirits (whiskey, vodka, rum, liqueurs, brandy, and gin); fermented wines and brewed products such as beer and ale. The active ingredients in these beverages are ethanol (ethyl alcohol) and various congeners. The latter are those elements of the beverage which provide it its body, flavor, aroma, color, and taste. In general the greater the filtration to which the beverage is subjected the fewer the congeners. Some research has indicated more intoxicating effect for liquors with higher congener content (71, p. 246).

The effects of alcoholic beverage ingestion range from mild euphoria to stupor and even death, depending on dosage and frequency of consumption. Moderate doses markedly reduce motor skills, intellectual functioning and verbal performance. At higher levels emotional lability is common and the user may be provoked easily to anger or crying. Alcohol is the most widely used and abused of all psychoactive substances, a fact which makes generalizations about its relation to crime very difficult. Saying that a criminal had been drinking when he committed an offense gives little insight in a situation where a considerable segment of the total population were also drinking at that time and not committing crimes.

Findings

A long series of studies have shown a strong relationship between alcohol and serious crime. Drinking delinquents were found to commit "significantly more crimes of assault than non-drinking delinquents" (6, p. 1475). On the basis of the data available at the time, Blum flatly states: "There is a strong link between alcohol and homicide and...the presumption is that alcohol plays a causal role as one of the necessary and precipitating elements for violence" (8, p. 41). Alcohol is found as a significant element in not only the behavior of the assailant but also in that of the victim in many cases (8, pp. 43-44; 71, p. 266).

It is apparent, however, that alcohol use does not necessarily lead to violence. Vast numbers of individuals consume alcoholic beverages everyday but have no criminal records. Alcohol can, perhaps, best be seen as a sort of triggering mechanism for violence in some individuals in a situation already set to explode by psychological, social and economic forces (8, p. 41). Some of the latter components are to be found in the familial backgrounds of offenders, particularly juveniles: "The findings suggest a more inadequate or neurotic family interaction among the alcohol involved offenders compared to a pattern of outright criminal or disintegrated family backgrounds among the general sample" (6, p. 1476). Children growing up in certain environments are seen as "predisposed to crime and among these a segment of unknown proportion constitutes a potential pool for the damaging use of psychoactive drugs...the individual's own life development is highly predictable on the basis of whether _his_ parents suffered a similar alcoholic-sociopathic life style" (6, p. 1477).

An additional and, perhaps, equally important factor is the social situation in which both the offender and the victim exist. In high delinquency areas drinking is commonplace. In such environments there is therefore a greater chance that criminal activity will take place in conjunction with alcohol use. In fact, virtually any activity, criminal or not, is more likely to be carried out in association with alcohol use. Alcohol is most certainly a _component_ in much criminal activity, especially violence, but its _role_ in that activity by the end of 1973 was still open to debate and in need of much more rigorous evaluation. Blum posed the essential problems, thus:

> One cannot be sure...that the alcohol use of offenders exceeds that of non-offenders with similar social and personal characteristics...One cannot be sure that the alcohol use of offenders is any greater at the moments of their offense than during their ordinary noncriminal moments. One cannot be sure that the alcohol-using offenders would not have committed some offense had they not been drinking. One is not sure that the alcohol use of offenders differs from that of the other persons possibly present in the same or like situations which inspired or provoked the criminality of one and not the other. Finally ...one does not know that the relationship now shown between alcohol use and crime is not in fact a relationship between being caught and being a drinker rather than in being a criminal and being a drinker. Given the foregoing questions...a prudent student of conduct will not hasten to label alcohol a cause and crime a result when it is equally likely that both alcohol excesses and crimes are "results" (8, p. 43).

Summary

By 1974 the studies on the relationship between alcohol use and serious crime were in agreement that:

- Alcohol intoxication was present in a considerable, if not major, proportion of serious crime, particularly violent crime.
- In a large proportion of assaultive and homicidal cases both the assailant and the victim had been drinking.

- The association between drinking and crime is much more likely to be found in some familial and social environments than in others.

Points still to be determined were:

- the role of alcohol in the eruption of criminal activity and violence
- whether the association between violence and alcoholism is generational in families or is simply a product of social environment.

GENERAL SUMMARY

From these reviews of the literature on drug use and crime prior to 1974, two major trends can be seen:

- There is a clear categorization of the drugs in terms of their criminal association. Alcohol, the barbiturates and the amphetamines stand together as associated with crime and particularly violence. Marijuana, cocaine, and the hallucinogens are at the other extreme, being only incidentally associated with criminal activity. By themselves, the opiates stand somewhere between--undoubtedly involved in a good deal of crime for money to purchase drugs, but less clearly involved with violent crime per se.*
- Except in rare and isolated incidents of toxic reaction, it is not the properties of the drug itself which are important in the development of criminal behavior, but rather the interaction of the drug, the characteristics of the user and various elements of the situation.

In the pre-1974 period, three other trends had appeared on the drug scene which will have some bearing on this assessment. They are:

- the growing use and abuse of all drugs among an ever younger age group.

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* It would be an oversight, however, to forget that all of the drugs of abuse can equally well be involved in accidental death and injury due to their ability to inhibit self-control and release cautions on impulse control. An interesting series of papers relating both licit and illicit drug use to driving behaviors is found in Robert E. Willette, Drugs and Driving, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March, 1977.

- the spread of drug use from inner-city urban areas to small town and rural environments.
- violent crime within the drug culture was increasingly directed inward--toward other members of that same culture rather than against persons or property who were from the "square" world.

From 1974 on, the population most at risk in committing violence is the young juvenile, and they are also the population at risk of drug abuse.

CHAPTER III

OPIATE ABUSE AND CRIME: THE RECENT EVIDENCE

INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1974, most of the research associating opiate use with crime was derived from surveys of incarcerated felons or of patients in Federal narcotic addiction hospitals. Data were generally gathered through self-report interviews or official file searches. The major problem with this approach, of course, was that it was never certain just how much of the problem was really being studied. One could determine the proportions of incarcerated felons who had previously used opiates, or one might determine the proportions of hospitalized narcotic users who had previously committed crimes or been arrested. But one could never determine the extent of opiate use among non-apprehended criminals, or the crime rates among non-hospitalized opiate users.

Researchers still face those same problems, but several developments in the early 1970's have tended to make their task somewhat easier. The first of these was the development of large-scale nationwide data banks, such as the Drug Abuse Reporting Program in Fort Worth, Texas, which maintains standardized admission data and progress reports on drug abuse patients in Federally funded programs throughout the United States.

The second development was the rapid growth of methadone maintenance clinics throughout the country and the necessity to maintain ongoing evaluations of their clients in order to justify their Federal funding. This has generally required the part-time services of professional research analysts and the maintenance of fairly complex record systems. In many clinics, chronological arrest data are systematically collected and recorded along with both prior and follow-up drug use histories for each client. These are quite useful. Of the 21 studies found relevant to this chapter, 10 are studies of methadone maintenance clinic clients.

The majority of the studies deal with fairly specific questions:

1. What is the relationship between the age of onset of drug abuse and the age of onset of delinquency?
2. What types of crimes are committed prior to the onset of drug abuse and does the nature or frequency of the crimes change following onset?

Four of the studies differentiate the male and female addict/delinquent as to crime and drug use patterns. Other studies test various controversial theories of the relationship between opiate use and crime. These studies will be surveyed in the order noted above.

THE TEMPORAL ASSOCIATION BETWEEN OPIATE ABUSE AND CRIME

Whether criminality preceded the onset of opiate abuse or whether opiate use preceded criminal activity is of key importance in determining whether crime is a consequence of drug-taking. At the start of 1974, the issue was still in doubt, especially as it pertained to juveniles.

Eight studies bear on this question ; all are studies of methadone maintenance clinic clients. Methadone clinics seldom serve juveniles, thus all studies were conducted on adults. But each delves into the past lives of its subjects and is relevant to juvenile populations.

In this section those studies which bear on the age of onset of opiate use will be reviewed first, then those studies reporting age of onset of criminality, and finally, the evidence on the interrelationship between the two.

Age-at-Onset of Opiate Abuse

Boudouris, comparing samples of drop-outs and active patients at a New York City methadone clinic found that the "mean age of onset of addiction" was almost the same for both groups, about 18 years of age (14, p. 953). He does not define the criteria for determining addiction, but presumably addiction is a state following extended use of the drug. The implication remains that for most adult addicts, their opiate use started while they were still juveniles.

Cushman, surveying admissions to another methadone clinic in New York City, found an average age of 20.5 years for the onset of "daily narcotic use" (19, p. 38). Whether daily use of opiates is comparable to addiction is not clear. If so, then Cushman's sample started daily use some 2.5 years later than Boudouris' addicts. This difference may be due either to differences in criteria used, or to real differences in the populations served by the two clinics.

Vorenberg and Lukoff, looking at still a third group of New York City methadone clients found that 60.0 percent of their sample had started "regular heroin use" prior to age 22 (75, p. 4).

Bloom and Capel studied a large population of methadone patients at two clinics in New Orleans. In this population (median age: 31.7 years), one-third had started using heroin prior to age 21, and 14.0 percent prior to age 18 (5). This apparently older age-at-onset would be in line with other studies showing later addiction for southern whites (34, p. 235).

If these limited findings can be generalized, it seems clear that a large proportion, if not a majority, of addicts start their opiate use in their middle to late teens.

Age-at-Onset of Criminality

Bloom and Capel's New Orleans sample shows 62 of their 412 subjects (15 percent) were arrested prior to age 18, but only six of those were for a serious (FBI designation) crime (5, p. 132).

Langley, Norris and Parker, reporting on a population of methadone clients from Chattanooga, Tennessee, found only 41 of their 119 clients (35 percent) admitting being adjudicated for delinquency (42, p. 347). They conclude that "the majority of the adult addicts in this population were not juvenile delinquents when they were adolescents" (42, p. 349).

Both of these studies seem at odds with studies of the temporal sequence of opiate use and crime which were reviewed in the previous chapter, i.e., reviews by Blum, Tinklenberg, and Greenberg and Adler, which concurred that "most known opiate addicts had been delinquent prior to their being identified as being drug abusers" (71, p. 262). If their findings are valid, then much more criminal activity would be expected during adolescence than is indicated in the above two studies.

Temporal Sequence: Opiate Addiction or Crime?

The studies above show that a goodly proportion of the adult addicts had started opiate use in adolescence, but they do not show any extensive criminality during the same period.

To determine temporal sequence it will be necessary to review that evidence in the studies which definitely places one set of behaviors earlier in time than the other, or vice versa.

In the Langley, Norris and Parker data, 16 of the 119 clients in the sample (13.4 percent) reported delinquency adjudication prior to their use of drugs. Twenty-five of the sample (21 percent) report delinquency adjudications following their first use of drugs. Adult arrests were reported for 113 of the total sample. Of these, 57 (50 percent) were arrested prior to first heroin use, 42 (37 percent) following first heroin use, and 14 (13 percent) in the same year as first heroin use. For those arrested prior to first use, 39 (68 percent) were arrested more than three years before first use, with nearly half being arrested seven years before first use. The report concluded that the majority of the adult addicts were not juvenile delinquents when they were adolescents and that greater delinquency was found following initial heroin usage. For the total sample, however, the finding was that as adults they were crime prone before they became heroin addicts and that the crime proneness increased following addiction (42, pp. 350-351). It seems clear, however, that the temporal sequence is quite different for those with delinquency adjudications than for those where only adult arrests are counted. For the former, little delinquency is encountered prior to addiction, but a good deal afterward, while for the latter, considerable crime, as evidenced by arrests, is found even a number of years prior to addiction.

In the Bloom and Capel study, 57 of 406 subjects (14 percent) arrested prior to first use of heroin, had started their heroin use before age 18. Of these, only five were arrested for serious offenses. The data indicate a high peaking in arrests, particularly for serious offenses, for clients starting their heroin usage in the 24-25 year age bracket (5, p. 131).

Cushman calculates a mean age of 17.5 years for his 269 addicts prior to the onset of their addiction. From age 15 years to the onset of daily narcotic use they accumulated a total of 2,439 patient years at risk. Among them they had only 76 pre-addiction arrests, for an arrest rate of 3.1 arrests per 100 person-years (20, p. 39). This is hardly an impressive pre-addiction arrest record. At best, only 28 percent of the sample could have sustained pre-narcotic arrests. Since the average age at onset was 20.5 years, relatively few of the arrests were likely to have been among adolescents under age 18.

Cushman is one of the few researchers to compare his arrest rates before heroin use with a general population arrest rate. Utilizing the two precincts surrounding his clinic, he finds a rate of 3.35 arrests per 100 person-years at risk for the general population and 3.30 for the addict population (20, p. 42).

Stephens and Ellis, studying a sample of 24 and 25-year-old addicts' pre-narcotic arrest rates, found that 16.7 percent of the 227 subjects had arrests for person crimes, and 21.6 percent for property crimes. Of those, 110 of the subjects had started using drugs before 18 years. For these latter, 11 (10 percent) had a pre-narcotic arrests for person crimes and 7 (6 percent) for property crimes (the same person may be counted in either category). For the same subjects, 39 (35 percent) had person crimes arrests following narcotic use, and 71 (64 percent) had property crimes arrests following narcotic use. The dramatic rise in crime following first narcotic use is evident, as is the relative low levels of crime prior to narcotic use for those starting use under age 18 years. For those whose drug use started after age 17 years, relative high levels of both person and property crime prior to addiction are found (64, p. 484).

Weissman, Katsampes, and Giacinti, studying a jailed population of addicts in Denver, Colorado, found a pre-onset, non-drug arrest rate of 1.704 per year for those whose first arrest occurred when they were between the ages of 13-20 years. That is 185.7 non-drug arrests per year for the 109 addicts in that sample. Onset in this study was determined by date of first drug arrest (77, p. 274). Compared with the other studies reviewed, this is a rather unusually high level of pre-addiction arrests, especially of young offenders.

Several years later, Weissman, Marr, and Katsampes conducted a parallel study on two more recent cohorts of addicts jailed in Denver. This time, rather than determining onset by first drug arrest, the actual age of onset was determined from self-report and official records. The population was divided into three groups by age of onset: 13-17 years, 18-21 years, and 22+ years. For the youngest group of 51 subjects, the pre-onset mean arrest rate for non-drug offenses was only .07 per year, with 9.8 percent of the group having been arrested at least once prior to onset. In contrast, the 18-21 age-at-onset group (83 cases) sustained a pre-onset yearly arrest rate of .57 with 51.2 percent of the total having been arrested at least once prior to onset (78, p. 160). It is apparent that even with the two groups combined, the yearly pre-onset arrest rate does not match that of the 13-20 year group of the previous study. The best explanation of the difference between the two studies would seem to lie in the differences in arrest rates between the first two groups in this study. The rate virtually catapults after the age of 17.

Use of the first drug arrest to determine onset in the earlier study would likely place it some time later than actual initial use of heroin. Thus, the earlier study may have included a number of non-drug arrests which took place after actual onset, but before the first drug arrest. These would also likely be concentrated in the 18-20 year range.

Summary

In general the studies are fairly consistent in showing:

- little evidence of widespread pre-narcotic juvenile delinquency for wards whose narcotic use started before the age of 18 years
- a rapid increase in post-narcotic crime among those whose narcotic use started before the age of 18 years
- relatively high pre-narcotic crime rates for those whose narcotic use started after age 17 years
- increasing post-narcotic crime rates for those whose narcotic use started after age 17 years.

TYPES AND FREQUENCY OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR AND CHANGES FOLLOWING THE ONSET OF ADDICTION

Most of the methadone clinic studies are concerned with the nature and extent of criminal activity of their clients during several periods: (1) prior to the onset of heroin use, (2) during addiction, (3) prior to treatment, (4) during treatment, and (5) following departure from treatment. This section will be concerned primarily with changes in criminal activity patterns during the first two periods as they pertain to juveniles. Data from the other periods will be introduced only where they cast light on the developing criminal careers of youthful opiate users.

Types of Crime Prior to the Onset of Opiate Addiction

Most of the studies already reviewed in this section provide some information on the types of crimes committed by addicts prior to their first drug use.

Cushman compares arrest rates for his sample of 269 addicts with the rates for a general population in the two police precincts surrounding the clinic. The addicts were only slightly more prone to engage in crimes against property prior to onset, .92 arrests per 100 person-years versus .70 for the general population, and somewhat more likely to have been arrested for disorderly conduct, .26 versus .04. For all other crime categories considered, the differences in rate were minimal (20, p. 42).

Stephens and Ellis show, for the 110 subjects whose addiction started before age 18, heavier levels of person crimes than property crimes arrests prior to addiction, but both were rather minor: only ten percent of the group had been arrested for person crimes and 6 percent for property crimes. In comparison, subjects whose narcotic use started as late as age 21, show 38.5 percent persons arrests prior to first use, and 23.1 percent property arrests. For subjects who were 24 years of age or more of age at time of first use, 40 percent had persons arrests before first use and 70 percent had property arrests before first use (64, p. 484).

Weissman, Katsampes, and Giacinti's 13-20 year age-at-first-drug-arrest group was primarily involved in larceny and burglary. Their rates for nearly all categories of crimes used (burglary, larceny, assault and robbery) were greater than for the other two groups studied: 21-25 and 26+ age at first drug arrest (77, p. 274).

Weissman, Marr and Katsampes, however, in their subsequent study of Denver addicts, found only larceny and offense against public order arrests among their 13-17 age at onset group, and at very low levels, .07 arrests per 100 years at risk for both offenses combined (78, p. 160).

The Langley, Norris and Parker data on 119 Chattanooga addicts found only nine crimes-against-property delinquencies and one crime-against-people preceding drug usage (42, p. 350).

Bloom and Capel show that for addicts whose first use of heroin began under the age of 18, only 28 percent of their total pre-onset arrests were for serious crime. For those with first use under the age of 21, the percentage drops to 24 percent, due largely to a sharp increase in nonserious crimes for the 18-20 year age-at-first-use group (5, p. 131).

From the evidence reviewed in these studies, it appears that relatively few pre-addiction arrests are found among juveniles who become addicts prior to age 18 years, and that the crimes they do get arrested for are relatively minor and nonviolent in nature. The caveat mentioned earlier must still hold, of course: the evidence of *juvenile* arrests and criminality may simply have not been available to the researchers.

Types of Crime After the Onset of Addiction

The most obvious increase in crime following addiction is, of course, in drug related offenses. The Cushman data show a jump in rate per 100 person-years at risk from .01 prior to onset to 19.5 during heroin use (20, p. 42). Similar increases are found in the other studies. These will not, however, be a concern of this assessment, which focuses on changes in non-drug criminal activity among the seven index crimes.

The next highest increase in criminal activity among addicts following heroin use was found among the property crimes, from .92 per 100 person-years to 8.9. Crimes against persons increased from .70 to 3.25 following the start of heroin use. Heroin users were less than half as likely to commit a person crime as a property crime (20, p. 42).

For the 110 subjects of Stephens and Ellis' study who had started heroin use before the age of 18, the numbers of person-crime arrests increased from 11 (16 percent) before addiction to 50 (45 percent) following onset. For property-crimes arrests the increase was from 7 (6 percent) to 78 (91 percent). Where addiction started as late as age 21, 30.8 percent were subsequently arrested for person-crimes and 46.2 percent for property crimes. At addiction age 24 or more, the proportions were 50 percent and 40 percent respectively (64, p. 484).

For the Weissman, Katsampes, and Giacinti 13-20 year age-at-first-arrest group, however, a decline in arrest rates is shown following first drug arrest. Only assault increased from .098 arrests per year per person to .193 per year per person. Robbery, burglary and larceny all showed substantial decrements (77, p. 274). This, again, suggests that the pre-onset data for this group contains a number of arrests which were actually incurred _after_ first heroin use.

The Weissman, Marr, and Katsampes data, on the other hand, parallel the other studies in showing tremendous increases in arrest rates following onset, for those subjects who started heroin use under age 18. The mean rate per year for larceny jumped from .05 non-drug arrests per person-year to .35 arrests. For burglary the rate increased from .00 to .23, and for assault from .00 to .10. Following heroin use, more than half of the group (54.9 percent) were arrested for larceny, 45.1 percent for burglary, 35.3 percent for robbery and 29.4 percent for assault (78, p. 160).

Confirmation of the changing pattern of crime with older age-at-onset of addiction is found in the Stephens and Ellis data. For their cohort, post-addiction arrests for subjects with onset at age 18 were found for 83.3 percent of the group for property-crimes and only 60.0 for person-crimes. Where onset started at 23, however, property crime arrests were found for 40 percent of the group, but person-crime arrests for 50 percent (64, p. 484).

> Those who become addicted when very young are very rarely charged with aggressive crimes, even when controlled for their current age. Those who became addicted at a later age (23 and over), however, are arrested for assaultive crime at a rate five times greater than that for those addicted at an early age (44, p. 490).

They suggest as a reason for this that "addicts who start out early on drugs are primarily linked to the drug culture and their crime is either directly associated with the use of drugs or various forms of petty crimes for obtaining funds to purchase drugs." However, "addicts who started out later are often criminal deviants who have come to accept drug use" (44, p. 490).

Except for the Weissman, Katsampes, and Giacinti study, the available data seem consistent in showing minimal and nonserious levels of delinquency among juvenile addicts prior to addiction, and sharply rising levels of serious crime following onset of addiction. The sharpest rises are for crimes which bring forth monetary gain: larceny, burglary and robbery. Where addiction started after age 17, the post-addiction crime rate also increased rapidly, but appeared as a continuation of the pre-addiction crime pattern.

The Relationship Between Pre-Onset and Post-Onset Crime

The nature of the relationship between crime and addiction among juveniles is not simple and direct. Based on interviews with a sample of addicts, Baridon, for instance, finds a "very strong relationship...in which the appearance of a given offense type prior to opiate addiction is an almost certain predictor of its post-addiction utilization as a means of support" (4).

Looking at their total data, undifferentiated by age, Stephens and Ellis note that "Significant shifts in the percentages of persons arrested for different types of crimes are not found." They conclude, echoing Baridon, that "addicts do become 'more criminal' as they progress through their addict career, but their modus operandi (vis-a-vis types of crimes committed) does not alter radically" (64, p. 487).

In reviewing the masses of arrest data from the various studies, and attempting to make some meaning of them, it is well to note, as Atwell shows, in comparing matched samples of addict and nonaddict offenders: "although both groups of offenders had similar criminal records, nonaddicted offenders committed more felonies and misdemeanors than addicted offenders, but that addicted offenders tended to be apprehended and charged more frequently with felonies and misdemeanors against persons" (2).

Looking at the higher hostility levels of addict criminals versus nonaddict criminals and the higher arrest rates for violent crimes among the former, Gossop and Roy suggest, too, that there "is a greater likelihood of the more hostile addicts being apprehended and successfully prosecuted" (32, p. 276).

It may well be that a considerable part of the increased arrest rate for addicts may be due to a greater predilection to their being apprehended, than to any actual increase in numbers of crimes committed (42, p. 349).

What Happens After Treatment?

Few heroin addicts can afford to continue taking ever increasing doses of opiates day after day. At some point in time the cycle must be broken. This is usually by death or by attendance at some type of detoxification or treatment center. What is generally seen is a gradually spiraling increase in both opiate use and crime, followed by a dramatic increase in the likelihood of arrest just prior to admission to the detox or treatment center (49, p. 105; 50, p. 110; 75, p. 7). Newman speculates that "the increased likelihood of arrest reflects an increased dependence on criminal activities" and that this "in turn, may be a major factor in leading street addicts to voluntarily seek admission to this Program" (50, p. 110).

In terms of motivation to enter treatment, Baridon adds that "monetary cost is largely irrelevant in the addicts' decision on whether a habit has grown unmanageable and on whether treatment is indicated...costs are measured more in terms of sustained criminal involvement and social isolation than in terms of cash to finance a habit" (4).

There is usually a decline in criminal arrests of addicts following admission and while still in treatment, especially in comparison to the months just prior to admission (50, p. 110).

This decline may not lower the arrest rates as pre-addiction rates or the mean arrest rate throughout the months of active addiction (75, p. 7).

Unless a juvenile started his addiction at a very early age it is unlikely that the effects of treatment on the criminal behavior of juvenile addicts will be noticeable. Most usually the addict will be 18 years or over before needing more than occasional detoxification services.

FEMALE ADDICTS

Very few studies have been conducted on the female opiate addict, although other studies have consistently shown that females comprise about 20 percent of all addicts seen at treatment centers (20, p. 38; 49, p. 103; 77, p. 272; 78, p. 162). No studies were found specific to the juvenile female addict nor studies which allowed any implications concerning them. The two major studies of female addicts used samples whose mean ages were in the mid-20's. From these, inferences can be drawn concerning the extent and types of crime of juvenile female addicts.

Weissman, Marr, and Katsampes compared pre- and post-onset rates of various types of crimes between males (167) and females (33) in their Denver samples. Only 9.1 percent of the females had any larceny arrests prior to addiction, but following onset this rose to 63.6 percent. None of the females had prostitution arrests prior to addiction, but one-third had such arrests following addiction. For burglary and assault, pre-addiction levels were much less than for the males: .002 and .01 per person-year respectively for the females, compared with .11 and .05 for the males. Following the onset of addiction the rates rose to .10 for burglary, but to only .02 for assault. In general, larceny and prostitution were the primary sources of post-addiction criminal income for the females, while burglary, larceny and robbery were primary sources for the males (78, p. 162). A similar relationship may apply to juvenile males and females, but at a lower post-addiction level of activity (50, p. 112).

File, McCahill and Savitz show that of their 227 Philadelphia female addicts 41 percent had been arrested for prostitution and 45.4 percent for larceny. Assaults and homicides accounted for only 14.5 percent of the arrests. Of the entire group only 7 percent were arrested on prostitution charges only. Another 34.8 percent were arrested only on serious crime charges. Thirty-three percent were classified as "criminal/prostitutes" according to their arrest record. The balance, 25.1 percent, were not arrested for either prostitution or serious crime (26, p. 186). Weissman and File replicated the above study on a sample of female addicts in Denver with much the same results. The Denver sample was younger in each category and suggested that involvement in both prostitution and serious crime increased with age. The criminal/prostitutes in the Denver study were several years older than the females in the other categories.

One final point should be noted concerning female addicts: d'Orban, studying female addicts in relation to success in treatment, showed that longer histories of criminal arrests and convictions are related to failure of treatment among female addicts. The effect is not present in males. He suggests that either the female criminal-addict is basically more maladjusted than the male, or the succession of social failures makes the female less amenable to treatment (22, p. 88). If the length of criminal involvement is a factor in treatment failure, then presumably the earlier the intervention, in relation to onset, the more effective it should be. For juvenile females the practice of withholding methadone maintenance until later age may be counter-productive. Age-at-onset of addiction in female addicts was not involved in pre-addiction criminality. Following addiction they tend to gravitate to prostitution or larceny. There is some suggestion in the literature that most female addicts who begin prostitution shortly thereafter also become larcenous, showing relatively low prostitution-only arrest records, but high prostitution-plus-larceny records.

SOME TESTS OF THEORY

A number of the studies on opiate use and crime were designed to test certain assumptions and theories common in the field. Other studies, though not directly focused on theory, nevertheless provide relevant data.

Utilization of Crime to Support a Habit

A commonly stated assumption is that individuals addicted to heroin use are forced thereafter to commit crime in order to sustain their habit. Greenberg and Adler's previous review of the literature sought to enlighten this argument (34, pp. 240-41).

The Vorenberg and Lukoff study is also concerned with the assumption. They point out that "This may be the sequence for some addicts but it is simply not the case for large segments of the addict population" (75, p. 3). As noted, their data indicate that "for a substantial segment" of their patients "criminal behavior antedates the onset of heroin use." They indicate that both pre-addiction arrest records and early age-of-onset are associated with the degree of criminal behavior (75, p. 4).

Some of the other studies reviewed here tend to question their findings, however. It has been seen that for juveniles, relatively low pre-addiction crime rates were found, and that a considerable amount of post-addiction crime was related to monetary gain. Thus, the Vorenberg and Lukoff findings would, perhaps, better describe not those juveniles with the earliest age of onset, but rather, the 18-20 age-at-onset group.

In another paper, Lukoff and Vorenberg point out that it is those addicts who became addicted at an early age who represent the "classic drug dependency syndrome" (44, p. 490). This better fits the findings of the other studies concerning juvenile addicts.

Stephens and Ellis present data on a sample that is about evenly divided between individuals with age-at-onset under 18, and age-at-onset 18-24 years. The data clearly show greater proportions of pre-addiction arrests for those in the latter group (64, p. 484). This supports the contention that the "supporting-a-habit" theory applies primarily to the early age-at-onset group, while the later addicts were primarily already criminals who turned to drugs as part of a criminal way of life.

Drug-Crime Theories

Several theories based on extensive data have been advanced to account for the high arrest rates of addicts. Two of these have already been discussed: the theory that the addict must commit crimes to pay for his habit, and the theory that most addicts were criminals and delinquents before using narcotics and simply continue their established behavioral patterns. A third popular theory had been that the addiction to narcotics erodes the victim's moral character, leading him into crime. The latter theory is seldom taken seriously today.

Coleman presents a fourth "cultural learning" theory. This holds that the American culture defines addiction as incorporating criminal behavior, being an aspect of what addicts are "supposed to do." Thus, in becoming an addict, the individual adopts the related criminal actions. The dynamics of addiction are that "an individual becomes an addict when he applies the cultural definition of addiction to himself, and...he is motivated to do so by the desire to avoid the personal responsibility for his drug related behavior" (18).

It is possible that this theory explains some of the drug-crime relationship, but is not sufficient to apply generally. One can think of too many exceptions such as the doctor and the nurse addicts with quite different behavioral styles than the criminal addict. In fact, there is a body of evidence being accumulated which suggests that criminal addicts may be a minority of illicit narcotic users and perhaps of all addicts. Coleman's theory becomes important in cases where it is necessary to identify "addiction" not by physiological characteristics, such as tolerance and withdrawal, but rather by the individual's self-identification as an addict.

Personality Factors in Addict-Crime Relations

What factors differentiate the criminal-addict? Comparing two groups of addicted and nonaddicted young, black, male offenders, Atwell found the two groups differentiated in terms of two types of adaptation to failure in achieving success goals. Addicts faced with goal blockage retreated into drugs and accompanying crime, nonaddicts resorted to innovative methods, often criminal, to satisfy their goals and needs (2).

Gossop and Roy tested addicts convicted of assaultive crimes, and addicts with no convictions, using a series of overt and covert hostility measures. Addicts convicted of violent crimes scored significantly higher than unconvicted addicts on six of the seven scales. Even addicts with only drug convictions scored higher on three of the seven scales. This suggests that "within drug dependent groups hostility acts as a personality factor which pre-disposes the individual towards criminal behavior" and that the "most hostile individuals may be more likely to commit crimes against property or against persons than others who are less hostile" (32, p. 276).

It might be expected that Atwell's lower class, black addicts, in their retreat from blockage and frustration would evince the greatest latent hostility. This is suggested in Khantzian's study of black addicts and antisocial individuals. He notes, "Wherever and in whomever there is oppression, developmental impairments, psychic turmoil, rage and depression, there is correspondingly a ready-made market for narcotic drugs" (38, p. 69).

All three of these studies emphasize the same factors as basic to criminal-addiction, but from separate points of view. Hostility and resentment may very well be basic ingredients in the crime-addiction relationship, as well as frustration and goal blockage, but how these apply to the juvenile addict needs further exploration. Can the crime pattern of those who start narcotics at the younger ages be explained in the same terms as the crime pattern of those who start addiction later in life?

Self-Medication Models of Drug Dependence

Both the Gossop and Roy and the Khantzian studies make the additional point that many addicts may be attempting to control their feelings of rage and hostility through drugs. The former points out that "it is interesting that the most hostile group of patients in the present study were the intravenous narcotic addicts, and that narcotics have been suggested to have a pacifying or hostility reducing effect" (32, p. 277). Khantzian adds, "aggression and rage are relieved somewhat by opiates" (38, p. 68).

Summary

Although most of the theoretic and personality studies were conducted on adult subjects they have implications on juvenile addict-criminals. The other studies reviewed suggested that juvenile addicts are quite different in their crime related patterns than are persons who become addicted after age 18 years. If applicable, Coleman's cultural learning theory leaves a question at what point following the onset of addiction younger addicts begin to identify themselves as such. Undoubtedly there is a lapse of time after use starts before the user begins to feel that he truly cannot control his drug use. If so, Coleman's theory may be adequate in explaining older addict criminal behavior, but not that of the recently exposed juvenile user. The personality findings seem to be relevant for juveniles.

GENERAL SUMMARY

The major finding of this review of the post-1974 literature is that consistent differences appear in the criminal career patterns of male addicts who begin their addiction before age 18 years and in those who begin their addiction after age 17 years.

- Juveniles who begin their use of heroin prior to age 18 generally show light criminality prior to their usage.
- Juveniles who begin their use of heroin prior to age 18 show rapid increases in criminality following the onset of heroin use.
- Persons who begin their use of heroin after age 17 generally show lengthy delinquency records prior to their addiction.
- Persons who begin their use of heroin after age 17 generally also show increased criminality following addiction.
- Persons who begin their use of heroin after age 17 generally show little change in the types of crimes they commit before and after addiction.
- Juveniles who begin their use of heroin prior to age 18 rarely commit assaultive crimes following addiction, but those beginning their use of heroin following age 17 show much greater frequency of violence.
- Being an addict, regardless of age-of-onset, increases the likelihood of one's being apprehended on criminal charges, both in terms of pre-addiction levels and compared to non-addict criminals.

The criminal pattern for female addicts differs from that of male addicts in the following ways:

- Female addicts show quite low criminality prior to addiction.
- Female addicts turn to larceny as their major source of income, often in conjunction with prostitution. Relatively few are dependent solely on prostitution for funds.

Some data relevant to several theoretical perspectives found:

- Addicts who start heroin use at an early age are more likely to indulge in crime to support their addiction.
- Addicts who start heroin use at later ages simply increase their pre-onset criminal activity following addiction.
- For some of the early usage addicts, their criminal activity is primarily a response to the cultural definition that addicts are supposed to indulge in criminality.
- Addicts who commit violent crimes generally show elevated levels of overt and covert hostility in comparison to addicts who do not commit such crimes.

CHAPTER IV

ALCOHOL ABUSE AND CRIME: THE RECENT EVIDENCE

INTRODUCTION

No studies of the relationship of alcohol abuse and serious crime among juveniles were found in the post-1974 literature. One study on youthful murderers (63) provides some limited information on alcohol involvement. O'Donnell and Associates' lengthy survey of young men and drugs (52) devotes only one table and six sentences to the subject. Tinklenberg and Associates developed two studies based on populations of incarcerated California youth which examine alcohol along with other drugs in relation to assaultive crime (73; 70). Most of the studies on alcoholism and crime are of much older subjects whose mean age ranges in the late 20's and the 30's.

It must be assumed that juvenile alcohol abuse and serious crime are either: (1) not of sufficient interest or importance to attract research attention, or (2) not really a social problem On the other hand, there may be some inherent methodological problems in gathering data on juvenile subjects, as has been mentioned previously, and, of course, there are quite a bit of data on heroin use and crime.

Twenty studies were found relating alcohol abuse and crime in the general populace. Although most are not specifically oriented toward juveniles, they are reviewed for their possible implications in regard to juvenile alcohol abuse and crime. The studies cover a number of points: (1) the extent of alcohol involvement in serious crime, both the offender and the victim, (2) the background of the offender, (3) the setting and circumstances of the offense, and (4) certain mediating factors. The studies will be reviewed in this order.

THE EXTENT OF ALCOHOL INVOLVEMENT IN SERIOUS CRIME

The pre-1974 reviews implicated alcohol in a considerable number of serious crimes, although specific numbers were not provided.

Of 50 murderers from the Memphis, Tennessee metropolitan area, 80 percent had been drinking at the time of the offense (37, p. 51).

Mayfield studied 307 serious assaultive offenders entering the North Carolina prison system during a two year period. Their offenses ranged from assault with a deadly weapon to first degree murder. The majority (57 percent) of these offenders had been drinking at the time of the offense (46, p. 289).

Of 17 violent crime offenders studied in Ontario, Canada, a significant relationship with alcohol was noted in 70.6 percent of the cases. Alcohol in significant quantities was reported in association with six of the seven homicide related charges (62, p. 1177).

Data collected from detailed autobiographies of 77 convicted California rapists revealed that 50 percent of them were drinking at the time of the rape and that 35 percent were alcoholics (57, p. 446).

From a nationwide sample of young men (mean age 23.9) O'Donnell and Associates found 314 who admitted to breaking and entering, 36 to armed robbery and 145 to auto theft. Thirty-one percent of the breaking and entering offenders were "heavy" or "heaviest" drinkers, but only three percent of the robbery and 14 percent of the auto theft offenders were heavy or heaviest drinkers (52, pp. 83-84).

Of 31 juveniles charged with homicide or attempted homicide in California over an 18 month period, about one-fourth were intoxicated at the time of the offense (63, p. 315).

The Tinklenberg and Associates' study of youthful assaulters, alcohol used alone or in combination with other drugs, was involved in 41 percent of the total assaults by drug users and non-drug users, and in 64 percent of the assaults by drug abusers (73 p. 687).

These data are too flimsy and scattered to permit any firm generalization, but they certainly confirm that alcohol, even among juveniles, is associated with a broad spectrum of serious crime.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE OFFENDER

Apart from victimless crimes, three things are necessary for a crime to take place: an offender, a victim and a setting or situation which provides the framework for the interaction of the offender and the victim. Some data are available on all three, relevant to alcohol abuse and crime, from the studies.

Offender Characteristics

In Mayfield's study of assaultive convicts, problem drinkers were more likely to have had previous arrests for alcohol offenses (70 percent) and also were more likely to have previous non-alcohol criminal records (67 percent) and previous serious assaults (50 percent) than were the others in the sample (46, p. 291).

Twenty-seven of the 77 rapists studied by Rada were identified as alcoholics (35 percent). The alcoholics were more likely than non-alcoholic rapists to be married, Catholic, Mexican-American and from the lower socioeconomic levels. The alcoholic rapist had a much higher rate of use of drugs than did the non-alcoholic (57, p. 445).

Thirty-one black teenage murderers studied by Sorrell showed one-fourth to have been intoxicated at the time of the crime (63, p. 315). Eighty percent of these offenders had prior offense records, half for personal injury to others.

Tinklenberg and Associates, studying incarcerated assaultive youth (mean age 18.5 years), found that white and Chicano youth more often committed offenses under intoxication. Both assaultive and non-assaultive groups were from lower socioeconomic levels (73, p. 687).

Again, little generalization can be made on the basis of such sketchy data. There is implication that the assaultive alcohol users had records of prior assaultive behavior--seemingly part of an ongoing life-style. Also, there is the suggestion that assaultiveness is associated with lower socioeconomic status.

Family Background

Sorrell's family background data for 31 juvenile murderers showed the following profile at the time of the offense:

> only eight were living with both parents...seven had illegitimate parentage...the fathers of six were missing...nine were living in homes with no adult male in residence...two of the mothers and four of the fathers were deceased...four of the fathers and two of the mothers had criminal records...five of the fathers and five of the mothers were described as alcoholic or heavy habitual drinkers (63, p. 317).

That family pathology applied to both those who had been drinking at time of their offense and those who had not been drinking. From other indications in the literature, however, it is more applicable to the drinkers than to the non-drinkers. Only seven of the 31 juvenile murderers were described as coming from an apparently "healthy" family environment (63, p. 318).

Prescott, in administering a questionnaire to college students, found "very high correlations between alcohol use and parental punishment (which) may indicate that people who received little affection from their mothers and had physically punitive fathers are likely to become hostile and aggressive when they drink" (55, p. 69).

Psychological Factors

Renson, Adams and Tinklenberg compared two groups of alcohol abusers, one group who had been violent while intoxicated and the other group who were nonviolent, in terms of overt and covert hostility as measured by the Buss-Durkee Inventory. Violent drinkers scored significantly higher on the scales measuring assault, irritability, verbal hostility, resentment and indirect hostility. All subjects were between 27-47 years of age, but no relationship between age and any of the above scale score differences was found, it may be that the differences hold equally well at lower age levels (58, p. 360).

Nicol and Associates rated a group of long-term incarcerated offenders in Britain in terms of their violent behavior and the extent of their alcoholism. They then tested the group on their responses to nine imaginary stressful situations. Neither the violent nor the alcoholic subjects responded to the stress situations in violent terms, but both responded significantly in seeing alcohol as an appropriate response to the stressful situations. Their conclusion is that the "association between alcoholism and violent crime reflects more than involvement in petty brawls...The most seriously violent criminals also have severe drinking problems, often amounting to physical dependence on alcohol" (51, p. 50). The generalization may hold equally well in this country. To the extent that juveniles perceive alcohol as a means of coping with stress, then it could apply to those who start drinking at earlier ages.

Three matched groups of young adult alcohol offenders, ages 17-21, nonalcohol offenders and nonoffenders were compared on Minnesota Multiphasic Inventory scale scores by Laudeman. The alcohol offenders scored significantly higher than the nonoffenders on rebellion and aggressiveness (Pd), and lower on ego-strength, as characterized by low frustration tolerance and uncontrolled impulsivity, but no significant differences were found on those scales between the two offender groups (43, pp. 261-263). Laudeman suggests "the characteristics of impulsive aggressiveness and lack of control may be partially satisfied by the socially unacceptable behavior of the offender groups" but that for the alcoholic "additional physiological, sociological, and/or learning factors are suggested to be operating to produce the differences in drinking behavior and arrest categories found between the offender groups" (43, p. 268).

As part of a series of laboratory experiments on alcohol and aggressive behavior, Shuntich and Taylor administered equal amounts of Bourbon whiskey, and a similar tasting placebo randomly to students, while other students in the experiment received nothing. All three groups were given highly competitive tasks against an unknown "opponent." The task was designed to heighten frustration. If the subjects succeeded in their task they were allowed to administer an electric shock to the opponent to "motivate" him for the next round. Exposed to exactly the same degree of frustration and task difficulty, the alcohol drinkers administered significantly stronger shock than did either of the other two groups (60, p. 36).

Taylor and Gammon replicated the above study and varied the type of alcohol (whiskey and vodka) and the dosage administered. The high-dose vodka drinkers administered the most severe electrical shock, the high-dose whiskey drinkers next, the two low-dose drinkers administered much lower intensity shocks. They suggest that the "*small dose of alcohol produced a tranquil affective state that was incompatible with aggressive responding and the large dose produced an excitable affective state compatible with it*" (67, p. 173). They also suggest that vodka, with much fewer congeners, resulted in a faster build-up of blood-alcohol levels, an idea supported in a small pilot study (67, p. 174).

The psychological literature on alcohol abuse and aggressive behavior consistently shows alcohol taken in large doses or chronically releases previously latent aggression and hostility in some persons and under some conditions. Research is needed to discover those conditions which, with alcohol, increase aggressiveness.

There is one additional bit of evidence of a nonpsychological nature that supports psychological findings on alcohol and violence. Simon and DiVito studied by electroencephalography (EEG) 50 patients who chronically became violent as a result of drinking. The subjects were tested in both a nondrinking and a drinking condition.

In 14 cases (28 percent) alcohol ingestion produced one or more types of EEG abnormality that correlate with episodic violent behavior (61, p. 147).

THE SETTING OF ALCOHOLIC CRIME

Elements of the setting of crime include not only the locale, but the nature of the victim/offender relationship and the activities of each prior to the crime.

Locale

Mayfield's sample of assaultive felons in North Carolina, (8 percent of who were nondrinkers) showed that the majority (50 percent) of the assaults occurred in a home and almost half (46 percent) occurred in the home of the subject or his victim. Assaults occurred in business establishments only 8 percent of the time. No other category exceeded 5 percent (46, p. 289).

Davis, looking at alcohol-associated homicides in Miami, Florida, during a six month period, found that "two-thirds of these murders are nothing more than drunken brawls in the alcoholic home environment or the saloon" (21, p. 273).

In Sorrell's study of juvenile assaulters, however, the murder or attempted murder occurred during the commission of some form of robbery; at least 35 percent of the incidents for that group occurred elsewhere than in a home (63, p. 314).

Thum reviewed the circumstances surrounding the fights and assaults in Boston which ended with referral to an emergency service for treatment. For those cases with positive Breathalyzer reading, 52 percent were assaulted on the streets and 16 percent in drinking establishments. This does not prove that the assailants were drinking, except possibly those in a drinking place (68, P. 494).

Offender/Victim Relationship

In Mayfield's group of 307 cases the victims of assault or murder were most likely to be either friends of the offender or family members (83 percent) than strangers (17 percent). Of the females who were assaulted, the majority (65 percent) were attacked by family members (46, p. 289).

Among Sorrell's juvenile assault victims, 15 were juveniles and 15 were adults. Eleven of the victims were known to the offender, and at least two were related. Which of these were also alcohol-related is not clear, however. Some of the previous data would suggest, though, that the more impulsive assaultive crimes characterize the drinking offender more than the non-drinking one. In Thum's study only 11 percent of the victims of fights or assault fought with a known assailant (68, p. 494).

The Circumstances of the Offense

Mayfield notes that "The assault commonly took place in a setting which could be described as a drinking situation" (46, p. 289). It was not uncommon for both the offender and the victim to have been drinking just prior to the occurrence of the assault. Of 116 homicide victims studied by Haberman and Baden in New York City, 42.2 percent had blood or brain alcohol concentrations of 0.10 percent or more (the commonly accepted standard for intoxication) (36, p. 229). In Thum's Boston study, alcohol was present in 56 percent of 188 patients, 16 years or over, who were admitted to the emergency service for treatment of injuries resulting from fights or assaults. Of those victims who knew their assailants, only 33 percent had positive Breathalyzer readings, while for those who did not know their assailant, 63 percent had positive readings (68, p. 495). The latter generally sound like victims of muggings, most of them on the street, and might or might not have been victims of alcoholic assailants.

In Hollis' study of homicides over an eight year period in Memphis, Tennessee, the drinking status of both assailant and victim was determined in 50 cases. In 80 percent of those cases both the assailant and the victim had been drinking at the time of the murder. The actual blood-alcohol level for both assailant and victim were determined in only nine cases, in five of which the blood-alcohol levels of both parties were .10 percent less. In four cases it was .21 percent or more. There were no cases where the blood-alcohol level of the victim was higher than that of the offender. There appears a close relationship between the levels of both the victim and the offender (37, p. 52). In the latter four cases presumably the victims were drunk at the time of the incident.

The Weapon

In Mayfield's North Carolina research, the most common weapon was a handgun (41 percent), or other firearm (33 percent). Knives (14 percent) and clubs (5 percent) were a distant second and third choice of weapons. Of those who used handguns, 75 percent had been carrying the weapon with them for a period of time prior to the assault (46, p. 289).

Two-thirds of Sorrell's California juveniles were carrying the weapon used in the attack, either a knife or a handgun (63, p. 314).

Provocation

In Mayfield's cases assault rarely resulted from premeditation. A significant degree of provocation by the victim was present in 27 percent of the incidents, while in 50 percent of the cases the victim attacked or made a move which was interpreted by the subject as an impending attack (46, p. 289).

Using male college students as subjects, Richardson created stress situations in which the interaction of alcohol and verbal provocation by females could be related to male aggression. The study shows increased aggression among intoxicated males, but only after a high degree of female provocation, then as the provocation level was lowered the aggression level was reduced (59). This may be a partial explanation of Mayfield's finding that it was rare for a female stranger or a female acquaintance to be attacked by the male assaulters in her group (46, p. 289).

Such interpersonal provocation leading to violence is more likely to intensify in a family setting.

MEDIATING FACTORS

Two studies should be mentioned which touch on interacting factors in the alcohol abuse/crime syndrome.

First, Cinquemani, in a study of drinking patterns among Indians, points to the effects of cultural expectations on violent behavior due to alcohol, pointing out that such behaviors are not simply a function of the quantity of alcohol consumed. *Among cultures where violent behavior is accepted as a consequence of alcohol drinking both the drinking and the violence are quite open and forgiven. Among other cultures where individuals are expected to be responsible for their actions, the violent drunk is castigated and ostracized and violence is feared so much that the drinker often prefers to drink with strangers* (17). This may explain some variations in drinking patterns and violence in this country and the acceptance of the fighting drunk among the Irish, and the heavy-drinking self-control of the Nordics.

Other recent studies of adopted children, mostly in Scandinavian countries, where the records are more complete and accessible, have demonstrated the possibility of a genetic factor in alcoholism. One of the better studies, by Bohman, looked at 2,324 early adoptees and their natural parents in terms of both alcoholism and criminality. The results show a high correlation between alcoholism in both the natural parents and the adoptees, but no correlation in terms of criminality. Bohman concludes that "Instead of supporting the assumption that a predisposition for criminality may be genetically governed, it seems more likely that it may be a consequence of alcohol abuse" (13, p. 276).

GENERAL SUMMARY

It is as clear from the post-1974 literature as from the previous literature that:

- alcohol is associated with a great deal of serious crime, especially violent crime.

The literature also suggests that this relationship can be found among juvenile offenders. Since most of the studies of adults revealed that they had been involved with alcohol and crime for some periods of time, there is some indication that:

- violence is more likely to erupt in relation to alcohol where certain psychological predispositions are already present in the individual.

These include covert hostility, weak ego-strength, and frustration which may stem from the effects of inadequate parental backgrounds during developmental and adolescent years of the offenders.

A considerable amount of alcoholic violence involves family members and friends who have been drinking together, either in a bar or at their own home. How this relates to juveniles is not known, but some data suggest that juveniles also become involved in internal family and neighborhood disputes which can end in violence.

It seems likely that as more juveniles use and abuse alcohol, a subsequent rise in violent crime will occur. There is no reason to believe that juveniles will react any differently to the stimulus of alcohol than their older siblings or parents, although there will probably be a time lag before they engage in violence.

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CHAPTER V

THE OTHER DRUGS OF ABUSE: THE RECENT EVIDENCE

INTRODUCTION

It was the original intention of this assessment to devote a chapter to each of the major drugs of abuse and their impact or association with serious/juvenile crime. From the literature search, however, it was found that although a significant amount had been devoted to the opiates and alcohol, very little was written about the other drugs of abuse. Where studies were conducted, they lumped a number of the drugs together and studied the general impact of undifferentiated "drug abuse" on crime. In this chapter, therefore, the other drugs of abuse will collectively be reviewed.

Attention will first center on studies of undifferentiated "drug abuse," then on the depressants, stimulants, hallucinogens and marijuana, in that order.

DRUG ABUSERS

The general term "drugs" as used in many studies is misleading and mischievous. It is arbitrarily defined (if defined at all) and is not necessarily comparable between studies. In some studies it includes both opiates and non-opiates, in others only non-opiates and in at least one case one suspects that it concerns primarily opiates.

O'Donnell and his associates are concerned with "psychedelics, stimulants, sedatives, heroin, other opiates and cocaine" (52, p. 81). They made a nationwide survey of young men in regard to drug use history and participation in ten specific delinquent activities. Only three of those activities could be considered in the "serious crime" category: armed robbery, breaking and entering, and auto theft. Of the men reporting they had never used drugs, only 3 percent, 7 percent and 1 percent were involved in the respective crimes (52, p. 82). Seventy-five percent of the men admitting auto thefts, 73 percent of those admitting breaking and entering, and 34 percent of the armed robbers, committed their crimes before age 18 years (52, p. 84).

The report, unfortunately, does not relate drug abuse and age. Since the majority of those admitting to auto theft and breaking and entering stated that they committed those crimes when under the age of 18, it seems safe to conclude that those who used drugs had probably started under that age also.

Comparing drug use and crime between men born prior to 1950 and those born 1950 and after, the authors conclude that "there has been a 'real' increase in drug use and in crime" (52, p. 85).

Ball and Associates do not define "drug abuser" at all in their sample of 42,293 "drug abuse patients who entered treatment programs between 1968 and 1973" (3, p. 482), which surely included opiate users as well as of other drugs. Nearly seven percent were admitted to treatment prior to age 18, and 17.2 percent between the ages of 18-20 (3, p. 483). Assuming that it takes a year or two from first use to the need for treatment, then one can guess that better than 20 percent of those patients had started their first drug use before the age of 18. Of the total sample, more than 80 percent had been arrested one or more times (3, p. 486).

Poole and Associates' large sample of jail inmates from six metropolitan areas of the United States include as "drugs" both opiates (30.6 percent) and tranquilizers (2.3 percent). The sample was relatively young with about 56 percent under 25 years of age (54, p. 87). In all cases, drug users' crime rates were lower than the rates for nonusers in the samples, prior to the start of drug use. With the onset of drug use the rates climbed rapidly in successive periods (54, p. 91).

In the Kozel and Dupont study of 44,223 consecutive admissions to Superior Court lock-up between December 1971 and April 1975 less than 7 percent of those identified as drug users were arrested for violent crimes, while 17 percent of the non-drug subjects were arrested for violent crimes. No age related data were available, although it seems apparent that few, if any, could have been juveniles (41).

A study of 475 homicide victims in Philadelphia conducted by Zahn and Bencivengo disclosed 270 were identified as drug users and 205 as nonusers. Approximately 20 percent of each group were under 20 years of age (82, p. 288). Where the identity of the assailant could be determined, 61 percent of the drug users had been killed by family members or friends, compared to 90 percent for the nonusers. Of the drug users, 18.5 percent were killed during a felony crime (82, p. 291). About 50 percent of both groups had been arrested for crimes against persons, but 78.5 percent of the drug abusers had been arrested for property crimes, compared to only 50.6 percent of the nonusers (82, p. 283). The authors point out that "For drug users the death is more likely to be a result of his involvement with drugs, attempts to secure them or attempts to secure money for them. Taking drugs, then, constitutes a risk toward homicide" (82, p. 295).

Ziomkowski, Mulder and Williams report on a survey of both delinquent and nondelinquent tenth-graders. The delinquent respondents admitted to a much greater use of drugs than did the nondelinquents. Although alcohol was reported as the primary drug of abuse, rapid increases in the use of other drugs were found among both groups upon admission to the tenth grade (83).

Finally, Forslund surveyed students at two rural high schools in Wyoming concerning drug use and delinquency during the preceding year. A drug user was defined as anyone "who indicated that he or she had used marijuana or any other drug for kicks or pleasure during the year preceding the administration of the questionnaire." Of the males in the sample, 20.2 percent were identified as drug abusers. Of the females, 18.2 percent were identified as drug abusers (29, p. 220). Forslund's list of 26 delinquent activities is primarily concerned with rather trivial offenses, most of which would not even warrant a criminal arrest. In all cases, however, the drug abusers reported much greater delinquent activity than did the nonabusers. For 23 of the 26 types of delinquent acts the difference between users and nonusers with regard to frequency of commission was statistically significant.

Only two of the listed delinquencies relate to serious offenses: "taking things worth over $50," and "beating up someone." Male drug users reported having stolen things worth more than $50 much more frequently than nonusers, 19.6 percent of the users reported committing the offense, compared to only 3.1 percent of the nonusers. Thirty-seven percent of the users reported beatings three or more times during the year compared to only 15.9 percent of the nonusers. For both offenses the differences between users and nonusers were statistically significant at the .001 level (29, p. 221). While stealing was much less frequently reported among females, a difference was found of 6.8 percent of the users and 1.6 percent of the nonusers. Thirty percent of the female users admitted beating up on someone, compared to only 16.8 percent of the female nonusers.

DEPRESSANTS

The only post-1974 study found to directly relate the depressants and crime was that by Tinklenberg and Associates. Studying a sample of incarcerated adolescents in California, their data showed higher levels of drug use among the non-assaultive than assaultive subjects. Assaultive subjects were much less likely to use barbiturates than were the non-assaultives, although secobarbital was involved in one-quarter of the 56 assaults among the assaultive group. Only alcohol alone was more likely to be implicated (30 percent). When the subjects were asked to identify the drug most likely to enhance assaultiveness, 78 percent of the assaultive and 56 percent of the non-assaultive subjects named secobarbital. In comparison, only 11 percent of the assaultives and 8 percent of the non-assaultives named alcohol. The study concludes that "The finding that the enhancement of violence was primarily confined to these two drugs has implications for models of human aggression; drugs whose predominant actions induce CNS (central nervous system) depression seem likely to facilitate brain mechanisms subserving assaultiveness than do agents that primarily evoke perceptual distortions or CNS stimulation" (73, p. 689).

STIMULANTS

In the study by Tinklenberg and Associates just noted, amphetamines were found implicated in only one of the 56 assaults (73, p. 687). No other data associating stimulants with violent or serious crime was found in the post-1974 literature.

HALLUCINOGENS

Klepfisz and Racy report on five cases in which homicides were committed by persons under the influence of LSD. In four of the cases the assailants had prior histories of psychopathy which were probably exacerbated by the hallucinogen. In one case the assailant was intoxicated at the time he took the LSD and apparently went into a psychotic panic reaction (39, p. 430).

Tinklenberg and Associates point out that hallucinogens were not involved in any of the 56 assaultive incidents which they studied (73, p. 689). Tinklenberg, elsewhere, suggests a connection between hallucinogens and a "flight from aggression," pointing to the possibility that illicit drugs are being used by certain individuals as a form of self-medication or in an effort to enhance certain behaviors or control others" (70, p. 71).

No other indications of any relationship between the hallucinogens and serious crime were found in the post-1974 literature.

MARIJUANA

Next to alcohol, marijuana is probably the most widely used drug in the United States. Poole's sample of arrestees in six major metropolitan centers in the United States shows that 28.4 percent were current users of marijuana, compared to 24.4 percent for opiates and 16.5 percent for barbiturates (54, p. 87). In O'Donnell and Associates' nationwide survey of 2,510 young men, 55 percent had used marijuana (52, p. 82).

In the Tinklenberg and Associates' study of assaultive and non assaultive adolescents in California, marijuana was involved in six of 56 assaultive incidents studies, but in four of those incidents alcohol and some other drug (secobarbital or amphetamine) were also involved (73, p. 687). None of the assaultive or the non assaultive wards said marijuana enhanced assaultiveness (73, p. 688).

From O'Donnell and Associates' data a strong difference in marijuana use is shown between those born before 1950 and those born in 1950 or later. Of the younger respondents, 56 percent were marijuana users, while among the older respondents only 20 percent had used marijuana. Of all those admitting to the use of marijuana, 8 percent admitted to auto theft, 18 percent to breaking and entering, and 2 percent to armed robbery. These percentages are higher than those for nonusers, but somewhat lower than for users of other drugs (52, p. 82). A major finding of the study was that for the serious offenses:

> Most of the men who used marihuana by the age of 16 reported that they committed the criminal act for the first time in a year later than the one in which they first use marihuana; in contrast, for the men who first used marihuana at the age of 17 or at an older age, most of them had committed the criminal act before they used marihuana...Thus...the temporal ordering of marihuana use and the criminal act appears to be a function of the age at which marihuana is first used (52, p. 94).

The role of marijuana in serious crime is very difficult to assess since large proportions of both criminals and noncriminals have used it. Yet the pattern of marijuana use and crime is very similar to that of the opiates. It may well be, however, that this pattern is more a consequence of a close relationship between marijuana use and opiate abuse, rather than between marijuana use and crime. Thus, if most opiate users had previously used marijuana, then the same pattern would appear for both drugs, but earlier, as is the case for marijuana. Then the criminal behavior would be directly related to the opiate use, but only indirectly to marijuana use.

Goode, reviewing his data, concludes: "as it is presently used in this society, marijuana is not causally connected with aggressive, violent crime...marijuana use is not related in any meaningful way with criminal behavior" (30, p. 319).

OTHER DRUGS OF ABUSE

In recent years a number of exotic drugs have found their way into the illicit marketplace. Chief among these are phencyclidine (PCP) and methaqualone (Quaaludes). Categorization of these newer drugs is difficult, since their effects vary from person to person and situation to situation. Both have popular reputations for inducing violent reactions. However, studies were found which linked either of them with serious or violent crime. It may well be that they are too new and it is too early for related research findings to appear.

SUMMARY

Drugs in general, barbiturates and marijuana, all show relationships with criminal behavior. There is no evidence to link hallucinogens and stimulants with serious crime.

The studies on general "drug abuse" substantially support the findings for the opiates in Chapter III, but probably because large proportions of the subjects in these studies were opiate users. The data indicate:

- higher crime rates for drug abusers than for nondrug users
- crime frequency soars rapidly following the start of drug use
- drug abusers are less likely than nonuser criminals to commit violent crime.

Only one study was found linking the depressants and crime, although secobarbital is reputedly linked to crime, especially assaultive behavior.

No studies found the stimulants or the hallucinogens associated to any great degree of serious crime. It is highly unlikely that they have an impact on serious crime in the manner of alcohol or the opiates. The possibility remains, however, that some serious assault and theft occurs within the drug culture due to the traffic in those drugs.

For marijuana, the evidence shows that:

- It is widely used by both criminals and noncriminals.
- There is no reason to believe that marijuana is related in any direct way to crime or delinquency, other than that due to its own illicit use.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The original intention of this assessment of drug abuse literature was to conclude by "identifying findings on which there is substantial agreement, findings that are in contention, and questions that have not yet been addressed" (47). After a review of nearly 80 studies, the conclusion must be that the evidence concerning substance abuse and serious crime among juveniles cannot be neatly categorized and tabulated. Only four of the studies were directly concerned with the relationship between drug use and "crime" among juveniles, and of these, only two were concerned with serious or violent crime. Both of the latter were based on small samples of incarcerated assaultive youth in California.

The vast majority of the studies and earlier reviews were quite global or general in their scope, being concerned primarily with broad categories of drug abusers, unspecified as to age, or criminal behaviors, and to whom drug abuse of various types is superficially related. Information from the studies concerning substance abuse and criminal behavior among juveniles had to be extrapolated, extracted in bits and pieces from tables and graphs, inferred, and even drawn by implication from vague or passing references. Knowledge on this topic remains at best fragmentary and tentative.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND SERIOUS CRIME AMONG JUVENILES

From retrospective studies of adult treatment patients or incarcerated felons, it seems quite clear that a relatively large proportion of known substance abusers have been involved in serious crime in their past. It is also clear that a considerable portion of known criminals are also substance abusers. It is not clear what proportion each makes up of its respective population.

For those who are involved in both substance abuse and crime, two different patterns of involvement are shown, especially for opiates:

- the drug-abusing criminal, who usually has a lengthy history of delinquent and criminal behavior prior to the onset of substance use, and
- the criminal abuser, who generally does not become involved in any great degree of delinquent or criminal activity until after the onset of substance use.

A number of studies reviewed were quite consistent in showing that the first pattern characterizes persons who become seriously involved with drugs after the age of 17 years, while the latter is typical of those who begin their use of drugs before the age of 18 years. For the former, the use of drugs is seen as part and parcel of an ongoing criminal career for some types of persons. For the latter,

- the onset of substance abuse during adolescence is a direct spur to subsequent delinquency and serious criminal behavior.

Except for a relatively small proportion of those characterized by the first pattern, i.e., the drug abusing criminal, substance abuse and serious crime do not become interrelated until after adulthood. For nearly all of those characterized by the second pattern, i.e., the criminal abuser, substance use and serious crime are both aspects of juvenile behavior and central to the concern of this assessment.

The actual numbers of such juvenile criminal abusers is not known, but, from the samples used in various studies, proportions centering around 20 percent are found. That is, about 20 percent of those studied as methadone treatment patients were found to be characterized by the second pattern, roughly similar to that of adult prisoners. If that is true, it seems possible to venture that:

- a substantial amount of juvenile crime, some serious, stems directly from substance abuse during adolescence.

This observation must be tempered, however, by the point that the difference in pattern does not necessarily hold over all substance abuse categories. It is based largely on studies of opiate addicts, samples of undifferentiated "drug abusers," and marijuana users. For depressant, stimulant and hallucinogen users, no specific relationships with criminal behavior were found. For the marijuana users, the evidence suggests that the linkage with crime is not direct, but mediated through use of other drugs. The evidence from the generalized studies of "drug abuse," however, supports the idea that it is applicable to more than just opiate users.

Some support for the juvenile criminal abusers' distinctiveness is found in the types of criminal activities with which they become involved. Essentially,

- the juvenile criminal-abuser becomes involved in crime simply for financial gain to support the use of drugs.

Larceny, burglary and robbery are the crimes most frequently encountered. Violence is almost never resorted to except during the course of crime for monetary gain.

Alcohol and Crime

A completely different pattern than those for the drug-abusing criminal or the criminal abuser holds for the criminal alcoholic. The alcoholic is primarily involved in violent serious crime, usually murder, assault, and rape. The studies seem to show that:

- the criminal alcoholic typically has a history of violent behavior and involvement with alcohol from adolescence, or even earlier.

MEDIATING CONSIDERATIONS

The relationship between substance abuse and serious crime is neither simple nor direct. Obviously not all persons who drink, or who are alcoholic, commit violent crimes. Not all juveniles who smoke marijuana become opiate addicts. Not all opiate addicts are forced to crime to support their habit. Some studies suggest that the drug-abusing criminals and the criminal abusers are minorities among both the total criminal population and the total drug-abusing population. Most studies are based on either known substance abusers or known criminals since they are the most readily accessible for interviews or survey questionnaires. Thus, it is possible that much of what has been said thus far is simply an artifact of the methodology of the studies on which it is based.

The nature of the relationship between substance abuse and serious crime, especially among juveniles, is mediated by the pharmacological properties of the various substances, the background of the users,their personalities, and the situation surrounding the criminal behavior of the individual abuser.

Pharmacological Properties

The various substances of abuse tend to rank themselves in terms of their involvement in serious crime. Alcohol and the opiates are seen as closely associated with serious crime, the amphetamines and barbiturates, especially secobarbital, as having a possible close association, and marijuana and the hallucinogens as only casually associated with serious crime.

There is both pharmacological and clinical evidence for an association of alcohol with violence. However, a considerable extent of the association of alcohol with violent crime must continue to be considered as a consequence of the widespread use of alcohol, which statistically tends to show it related to any number of types of both criminal and noncriminal behaviors. The best that can be said seems to be that:

- the use of alcohol, under some conditions, can be a direct stimulus to violent behavior.

Among the conditions are the amounts and frequency of use, the situational context, the personality of the user, the type of alcohol used, and possibly the cultural meaning of drinking.

There is little pharmacological or clinical evidence, however, to regard any of the other drugs as direct stimuli to serious crime. For the hallucinogens and marijuana, in fact, any direct association seems contra-indicated. In this context, however, it should be noted that there is always the possibility with any substance of the occurrence of psychotic episodes which might lead to violent behavior, simply due to the direct psychoactive effects of the drug on unprepared or naive users.

Socioeconomic Factors

A number of studies suggest that the association between substance abuse and serious crime stems primarily from the fact that both are found in the same environments--the slums, the ghettoes, among the poor and the racial minorities. It is argued that crime would continue, probably by the same criminals, even if drugs and alcohol use were totally eliminated. It is pointed out that crime rates for the 18-21 age group rise rapidly, especially for certain social classes, even for those who are not substance abusers. This line of argument questions the distinction between the drug-abusing criminal and the criminal-abuser which was pointed out earlier.

Personality Factors

The substances of abuse affects individuals largely through predisposing sets or expectations. Differences have been shown in hostility, aggressiveness, ego-strength and frustration between different types of substance abuses (assaultive versus non-assaultive) as well as between abusers and nonabusers. It is probably best, then, to think of the association between substance abuse and serious crime as an interaction between the effect of the substance, itself, acting on the personality and background characteristics of the abuser which predispose him to crime.

Situational Components

Some crimes are planned and intentional, others are unpremeditated and episodic. Opiate abuse is associated with the former, alcohol and possibly barbiturate or amphetamine abuse, with the latter. In the first instance, the situational component is the need and opportunity for monetary gain through crime, usually for procurement. In the latter case, however, elements in the situation other than gain often precipitate the crime--family squabbles leading to assault or murder, such as two drunken friends arguing over a baseball game. The nature of the illicit drug trade itself also enters the situation. Sometimes it is simpler to procure drugs simply by "knocking off the dealer himself" rather than buying. Or, perhaps the dealer cheats the customer, who retaliates. Here, the crime is associated with drug abuse, but it is the situational elements which are overriding.

A CONTRADICTION

This summary of the findings of the assessment on substance abuse and serious crime has exposed two diverse and seemingly contradictory strands. One strand emphasizes the close association of various substances of abuse with serious crime among juveniles, the other emphasizes the indirect and mediatory influences which diffuse the nature of that association. In the first view, juveniles who use opiates steal and rob to acquire their narcotic; alcohol, and possibly the barbiturates and amphetamines, work by releasing inhibitory controls resulting in violent assault. In the second view, however, those actions occur only under certain conditions, among certain individuals, in certain settings and at certain times. Perhaps the best analogy of the relationship of substance abuse and serious crime is that of a piece of rope--each strand entwining, limiting, and reinforcing the other in a continuing relationship.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND RESEARCH

Policy Implications

What clues do the findings here provide for the prevention and control of serious crime by juveniles?

- If it is true that the juvenile criminal-abuser is largely nondelinquent prior to the onset of drug use and that most criminal activity thereafter is directed to monetary gain for drugs, then it seems clear that a considerable proportion of the serious crime committed by juveniles is a consequence of that drug use. It follows that any effort to prevent or control that segment of serious crime must also, and perhaps primarily, be concerned with the prevention and control of juvenile drug use.

Whatever is done should not be carried out unilaterally by any single Federal or State agency. For example:

- The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention must form a cooperative working arrangement with such other agencies as the National Institute on Drug Abuse and the National Institute on Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse if anything more than a piecemeal approach to the problem of juvenile substance abuse and serious crime is to be attempted.

Among other approaches to the prevention and control of substance abuse among juveniles, the following should be given consideration:

- Early detection--the literature suggests that the juvenile drug abuser has certain special distinguishing characteristics in terms of social background, personality and psychological make-up.
- Voluntary self-help centers--it is highly improbable that the individual who needs help with an actual or impending drug problem will voluntarily seek assistance from a facility associated with or sponsored by agencies of law enforcement or criminal justice. Such facilities must be locally supported and operated and engender a feeling of security and support for their clientele.
- Alternatives to narcotics--the provision of both opiate (methadone) and other alternatives to illicit narcotic use must be considered as preventive, rather than simply treatment, approaches.

Research Implications

The need for valid, systematic, and explicit knowledge about substance abuse among juveniles and its relation to serious crime is obvious from the difficulties experienced in making this assessment. The following emphases are paramount:

- Research must focus on what occurs with juveniles who become criminal-abusers and alcoholics.
- Those characteristics of juvenile criminal-abusers and alcoholics which distinguish them from their peers must be defined and interrelated for purposes of early identification and diagnosis.
- The extent to which juvenile criminal-abusers and alcoholics contribute to the total of juvenile crime ought to be determined in order to develop appropriate strategies and resource allocations for prevention and treatment.
- Research on appropriate and useful prevention techniques and control and treatment strategies for use with juvenile substance abusers must be carried out before a total realistic approach to the problem can be developed.
- There must be a considered effort to initiate and conduct multi-variate studies of the role of drug and other mediating elements on serious juvenile crime. Most of the studies to date have been simple correlational or group comparison studies which are unable to expose the real nature of the relationship between substance abuse and serious juvenile crime.

APPENDIX A

REFERENCES

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APPENDIX B

SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND CRIME: A BIOCHEMICAL APPROACH

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SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND CRIME:
A BIOCHEMICAL APPROACH

The studies reviewed in this assessment of the literature on substance abuse and serious crime have, for the most part, been carried out by social scientists or psychologists. There has been a tradition of considering studies of deviant and criminal behavior as a branch of the social sciences. Even the few studies prepared by lawyers, pathologists or medical doctors usually end up with a sociological appearance, stressing victim characteristics, epidemiology or social etiology.

More recently, however, another series of studies has developed from clinical biochemical backgrounds which may do much to explain some of the findings that have been reviewed, and to provide more precise diagnostic and predictive methods of looking at the relationship between substance abuse and aggressive or violent behavior. This assessment would be incomplete if this collateral line of evidence were overlooked.

Most of this work seems to have taken place since the mid-1960's. Dr. Robert DeRopp of the Rockefeller Foundation had earlier pointed to the similarity in biochemical terms of drug abuse, violent acting out and sexual satisfaction on the intermix of epinephrine, norepinephrine and serotonin in the bodily system. In the late 1960's, Dr. Ferris Pitts and his associates at Washington University were able to show that severe anxiety attacks in humans could be manipulated through changes in the balance of calcium and lactate ions in the system: intravenous calcium ion injections abolished anxiety, sodium lactate injections created anxiety symptoms. He pointed out that at that time that alcohol and many drugs can affect the calcium/lactate balance (53).

That line of investigation focuses on the role of neurotransmitters--those chemicals which carry sensory impulses from nerve cell to nerve cell. Calcium is such a transmitter, the presence of lactate tends to block the ability of calcium to carry sensory impulses. More recently, Dr. Frederick Goodwin, of NIMH's clinical psychobiology branch, has presented evidence linking aggressive and impulsive behavior in young males with high levels of epinephrine and low levels of serotonin. The same study also found that the reverse imbalance--low epinephrine and high serotonin, resulted in highly controlled and passive behavior (56). Similar findings have been reported by Ekkers (24), and by Woodman, Hinton and O'Neill relative to adrenalin (epinepherine) and noradrenalin (norepinepherine) imbalances (79, p. 702). Yaryura-Tobias and Neziroglu relate aggressive behaviors to glucose imbalance (80).

A parallel line of investigation relates aggression to high levels of plasma testosterone in the blood (23). An objection to that theory, however, is that alcohol ingestion seems to lower the level of plasma testosterone which should, then, inhibit aggresiveness (57, p. 445).

A third related line of investigation presently being supported by the Ford Foundation, is studying the effects of diet and nutrition on aggressive behavior (28).

All of the above substances are intimately interrelated in their effects on mood, emotions and behavior. Their actions can be impeded or exacerbated by the ingestion of various drugs or alcohol. Some chemicals function as activators of behavior or emotion, others as inhibitors. Thus, mescaline and amphetamine produce hallucinations or "highs" by stimulating the activators, and LSD by blocking the inhibitors. Tranquilizers work in a roughly opposite direction by blocking the activators or stimulating the inhibitors.

It is still too early to leap wholeheartedly onto the biochemical bandwagon as a complete explanation of the linkage between drug ingestion and aggressive behavior, but it seems certain at this time that the processes of biochemical imbalance and balance, their effects on behavior, and the role of drugs and alcohol in bringing about such imbalances or redressing them, must be taken into consideration as a part of a total understanding of the actions of substance abuse in promoting aggression and violence.

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GENERAL APPENDIX A

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